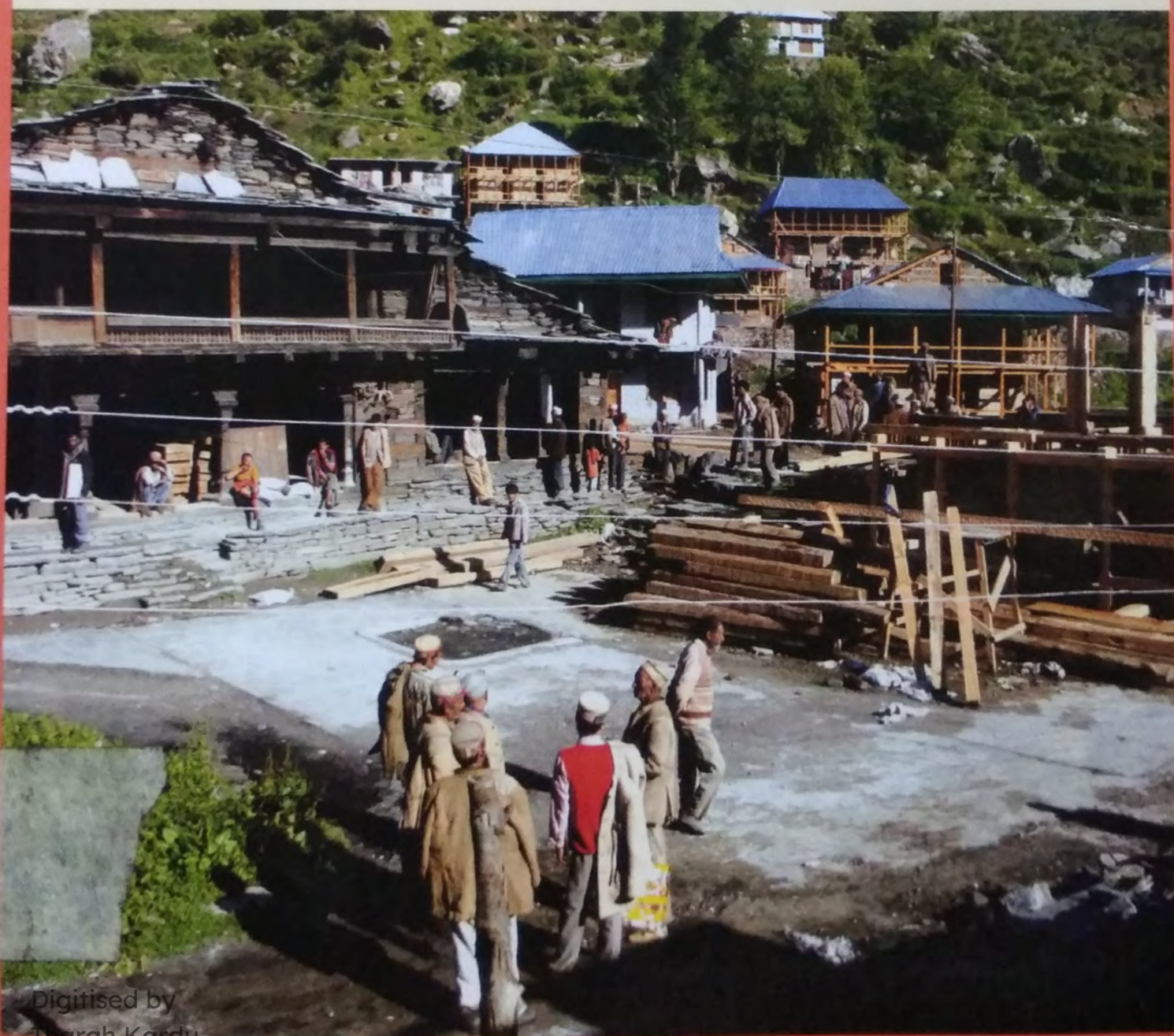


EXPLORING MALANA

An Ancient Culture Hidden in the Himalayas

TOBDAN

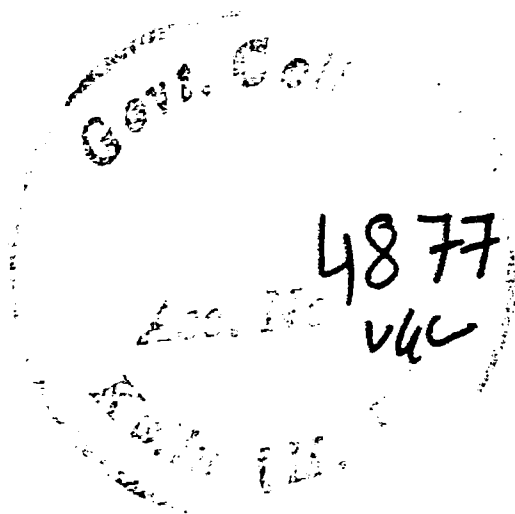


Malana, situated at an altitude of 2644 m, tucked deep in the rugged and forbidden heights in one of the treacherous tributaries of the Parvati river, has been a sleepy, sequestered and extremely remote village of Kullu district of Himachal Pradesh, where history and mystery, facts and fictions seem to have blended in to form an exotic socio-cultural ambience.

The geographical location of Malana is like a natural citadel. Due to peculiar physical feature the people of Malana have been pursuing their ideal of keeping themselves undisturbed, aloof and a sort of *de facto* independence. It has its own system of village government, its own court for settling disputes, and a measure of village autonomy, which are the most important features of Malana. A visitor to the village is required to follow certain customary rules as soon as he enters the village. Malana is not only physically and linguistically isolated, it is also socially insulated from outside contact.

Having remained virtually cut off from the outside world, the life in this realm of Jamlu Devta has been trailing at snail's pace under his dictate. Here Jamlu is the ultimate authority and the source of power in the political, judicial, administrative and religious spheres.

Malana has been attracting numerous visitors, tourists and scholars since long. The author has tried to explain in this study what he has seen and heard about the unique culture and socio-religious aspects of Malana which have been the subject of great interest among the scholars.



INDUS PUBLISHING COMPANY
FS-5, Tagore Garden, New Delhi-110027
Tel.: 42133622, 42133022
induspubco@gmail.com
www.indus-publishing.com

Copyright © 2011 by Tobdan

ISBN 978-81-7387-225-9

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced
in any manner without written permission of the publisher

The views and opinions expressed in this book are the author's own
and the facts are as reported by him, and the publisher is not
in any way liable for the same

Published by M.L. Gidwani for Indus Publishing Company,
New Delhi. Printed at Chaman Enterprises, New Delhi

Exploring Malana

An Ancient Culture Hidden in the Himalayas

Tobdan



INDUS
PUBLISHING COMPANY

INDUS PUBLISHING COMPANY
FS-5, Tagore Garden, New Delhi-110027
Tel.: 42133622, 42133022
induspubco@gmail.com
www.indus-publishing.com

Copyright © 2011 by Tobdan

ISBN 978-81-7387-225-9

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced
in any manner without written permission of the publisher

The views and opinions expressed in this book are the author's own
and the facts are as reported by him, and the publisher is not
in any way liable for the same

Published by M.L. Gidwani for Indus Publishing Company,
New Delhi. Printed at Chaman Enterprises, New Delhi

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	7
<i>Preface</i>	9
1. Explorations and Earlier Studies	11
2. Physical Setup and the Environment	15
3. Founding of Malana and the People	32
4. Sacred Structures and Architecture	48
5. Village Council and Governance	66
6. Women and Social Customs	84
7. Fairs and Festivals	94
8. Economic Resources	106
9. Kanashi, the Language of Malana	121
10. Origin of Jamlu: The Ruling Spirit of Malana	130
11. Athara Karadu	154
12. Deoghars of Jamlu	159
13. Jamlu and the Emperor Akbar	176
14. Jamlu and the Shag-tse of Spiti	185
15. Jamlu and the Gepang of Lahul	191
16. Emerging Trends	203
<i>Annexures</i>	
I. The Legend of Jamlu by an Anonymous Author	213
II. Phonetic Rendering of Some Important Local Terms	220
<i>Bibliography</i>	223
<i>Index</i>	227

List of Illustrations

1. A view of Malana village.
2. Young women of Malana.
3. A senior citizen of Malana.
4. Bhandar of Jamlu of c. 1960 (Courtesy: Roxi Studio).
5. Bhandar which was burnt in 2008 (Photo anonymous).
6. The existing Bhandar.
7. Sazavrata *kothi* on the right and *marh* on the left (Gore, 1895).
8. Sazavrata *kothi* burnt in 2008 (Courtesy: Bharat Studio).
9. A naked man riding a horse carved on wood in the *marh*.
10. Some decorative designs carved on wood in the *marh*.
11. Carvings on wood in the *marh*.
12. Carvings on wooden balconies in the *marh* at Jana.
13. A lady working on the hearth.
14. A lady in traditional dress.
15. Women's ear ornaments.
16. A woman in ritual dance dress.
17. A typical Malani house with livestock in the ground floor.
18. Intensive utilization of forest resources.
19. A typical hill-type building in Malana.
20. A house in Malana.
21. Temple of Jamlu at Prini: The worship place of devotees from Spiti.
22. The pujari.
23. Musical instruments of Jamlu being played by the zamindars.
24. Musical instruments of Jamlu.

25. Da-lha Shag-tse: Jamlu of Spiti (Courtesy: O.C. Handa).
26. Gepang: Performing the rites over Chanderkhani.
27. Officials of Jamlu and the Gepang on the Harcha.
28. Scene of devastation in Malana after the fire of 2008 (Courtesy: Roxi Studio).
29. People at work after the fire (Courtesy: Roxi Studio).
30. Malana under construction.

(All other photos by author).

Preface

Malana, situated at an altitude of 2644 m, has been a sleepy, sequestered and extremely remote village of Kullu district of Himachal Pradesh, where history and mystery, facts and fictions seem to have blended in to form an exotic socio-cultural ambience. Tucked deep in the rugged and forbidden heights in one the treacherous tributaries of the Parvati river, only a very few of the resolute trekkers and adventures could penetrate it until a few decades back.

The geographical location of Malana is like a natural citadel. The peculiar physical feature has helped the people of the Malana in pursuing their ideal of keeping themselves undisturbed, aloof and a sort of *de facto* independence. It has its own system of village government, its own court for settling disputes, and a measure of village autonomy, which are the most important features of Malana. The Malanis took full advantage of the unique geographical feature and guarded their independence jealously even under extremely difficult economic conditions. A visitor to the village is required to follow certain rules as soon as he enters the village. Malana is not only physically and linguistically isolated, it is also socially insulated from outside contact.

Having remained virtually cut off from the outside world and inaccessible for the outsider, the life in this realm of Jamlu Devta has been trailing at snail's pace under his dictate. Here Jamlu is the ultimate authority and the source of power in the political, judicial, administrative and religious spheres. At Malana, which is an unique living theocratic republic, almost nothing significantly has changed.

Malana has been attracting numerous visitors, tourists, and scholars specialized in various fields since long. Malana had been fascinating me since early and I had the opportunity to visit there for the first time in 1973. I have tried to explain what I have gained since then.

Acknowledgements

I express my deep gratitude and acknowledge the whole-hearted cooperation and help received from numerous persons at different places during my visits to Malana. Many of them are actively associated with the Jamlus and other devtas allied to Jamlu. They have inherited the traditional knowledge and follow the traditions of Jamlu. Many of them are office-bearers of Jamlu or other *devtas* of their respective villages, like *gur*, *kardar*, *pujari*, etc. and each one of them is authority on his own right. I mention a few of them: Hira Lal of Sharan; Jagannath of Tosh; Tara Chand of Rumsu; Jhhabe Ram of Jana; Dhani Ram of Kotadhar; Khubram Khushdil of Karadsu; Fateh Chand of Manikaran; Om Datt of Barshaini; Ram Chand Thakur of Chhani Aagye, Katrain; Gautam Singh Rana of Prini; Tej Ram and Loodar Chand of Koodung; L.C. Thakur of Soyal; Kehar Singh of Pulag; Purshottam Sharma of Dayar; Ram Nath of Pangan; Dharam Singh and Fateh Chand of Shangchar; Sobha Ram of Badagran; Khimi Ram Sharma and Tule Ram of Jagatsukh; Dugloo Ram of Shauran; Budh Ram, Kaulu Ram, Be-yi Ram, Joginder, Dile Ram, Amar Chand, Mrs. Masi Gori and Jeet Ram of Malana and many others. However for all deficiencies that might have crept in inadvertently in the present work none other than myself is responsible.

I am grateful to Dr. O.C. Handa for his assistance and guidance in several ways. I must thank Mr. M.L. Gidwani of Indus Publishing Company for his accepting to take up the work promptly and bring it out in fine shape.

1

Explorations and Earlier Studies

Malana, as it is known widely, is unlike any other village. Its people and their ruler *devta* Jamlu, have been the subject of special interest, and of investigation, for the past one and a half centuries. Besides the visitors who merely wish to see Malana out of curiosity, there has been an incessant stream of inquisitive explorers, scholars, social scientists, researchers, students, mountaineers and others flowing to this ancient village. Even though there is great difficulty in reaching Malana, their determination did not let them lose their courage. Some of them have left the results of their investigations in their accounts.

European travellers had started visiting the place perhaps shortly after the takeover of the region by the British in 1846. Harcourt, Assistant Commissioner, Kullu, 1869-1871, visited Malana, accompanied by other companions, in 1870 and stayed there on the night of 9th May. He started his journey from Sultanpur, the capital of Kullu, and went through Bijli Mahadev to Manikaran. From there he went to Malana through Rashol pass. Crossing Chanderkhani pass, he reached his headquarters at Naggar. He has left a vivid note on Malana and his journey, perhaps first of its kind. He also tells that a British Forest Officer had visited the village the previous year and that officer was the first such visitor in the past five years. It appears that initially the number of visitors was small but it increased a great deal soon thereafter. James Lyall, Settlement Officer, Kangra, from

1865 to 1872, prepared a comprehensive and detailed note on Malana covering a wide range of subjects. An extract of his note is incorporated in his Report on Settlement which was submitted in 1875. Lyall's note remained a guiding source for the Gazetteers and all kinds of official and non-official purposes for all time to come. Although it is not mentioned, Lyall most probably paid a personal visit to Malana. His note leaves an impression that there was substantial flow of visitors to the village in his time, as he writes, "in my recollection they have on several occasions mobbed or abused European travellers who have visited Malana and gone anywhere near the temple with boots on, and have been fined for the offence".

Mr. Dane, another officer of the same rank as Harcourt, got constructed road across Chanderkhani pass. Colonel Tanner of Survey of India had visited before Gore. Gore was perhaps the first non-official visitor whose description is available to us. His photographs are extremely valuable in the study of history of Malana and on aspects like the pattern of settlement, expansion of the village, dress, architecture, etc. (Gore, 1895: 82-92). One of the photographs taken from the top of the Rashol pass, shows Malana village clearly in two separate and distinct divisions, like two villages situated quite apart from each other. Another photograph captures the views of the *marh*, *sazavrata kothi* and the ground before them where many people are seen sitting in the sun and some are seen spinning wool. It is to be noted specially that the people are seen in a variety of dresses. Madho in the party of Gore was crossing Malana pass for the second time. Earlier he had come with Tanner. Gore also came, like Harcourt, through Manikaran and Rashol pass.

G.M. Young visited Malana in 1911 with the single objective of watching the icon of Akbar or Jamlu, a subject of unending debate, which is displayed once in a year in the annual festival of Phagli. His detailed description of the occasion remains a document of long standing value. He writes, "My sole apology for venturing on this well-worn track is that in 1911 by the god's special permission I was present at his annual festival held

at a very inclement season of the year, when Malana is almost inaccessible, and saw the ceremonies attending it, which I believe have not been witnessed or described by any other European or official up to the present time" (Young, 1982: 168). Forbes also visited the village in the same year. He came from Shimla through Jalori pass.

Bruce, taking the route reverse to that of Harcourt and Gore, commenced his journey to Malana from Naggar (1912) and reached Kasol through Rashol pass. He has left a long and informative account of the journey. H.A. Rose, based on the census reports and other sources, has compiled a detailed note on Malana. Hugh Whistler (1924) too has left an important description. To the same year belongs a story by an Anonymous native author giving the details of the legend of Jamlu, the earliest local document available on the subject.

Colin Rosser visited Malana sometime in the 1950s and made intensive scientific study of the society there, spending more than a year. It is learnt that he had to camp outside the village.

Prarthi was a resident of Naggar which has traditional economic and cultural relations with Malana since ancient times. He possessed first-hand knowledge of the cultural practices of the area and has devoted some amount of space on the subject in his work on Kullu (1971). The endeavours of the two dedicated researchers, Narender Sharma, a resident of Naggar, and Krishan Kumar, have resulted in their valuable contributions.

The Gazetteers of 1897 and 1917 register a concise data on Malana which have been quoted extensively for their being easily accessible and reliable.

No archaeological evidence was reported to have been discovered from the area. Jamlu's storehouse (*bhandar*) was a huge and an extremely valuable treasury wherein were collected the articles offered to the god by his devotees. Some of them might have been quite old and as such valuable from many angles. Exposing the store would have helped in unraveling some of the facets of Malana's past. The storehouse, to the great

misfortune of the people of Malana and the scholarly world, was completely destroyed in the devastating fire in 2008. It is told that some articles like coins deposited in some half a dozen big brass-pots had become defaced unrecognizably. We also learn about Malana in some measure from their language, culture and their relationships with the neighbouring areas of Kullu, Lahul and Spiti.

2

Physical Setup and the Environment

The village of Malana presently constitutes a Gram Panchayat forming part of Naggar Development Block. During the time of the Rajas, Malana formed a *Phati* (a cluster of two-three villages), in *kothi* Naggar and Waziri Parol. It comprised a part of Kullu tehsil under the British administration. This position continued unaltered even after the Independence till 1997. Then the new tehsil of Manali was carved out from that of Kullu and presently it constitutes part of revenue tehsil Manali in district Kullu in Himachal Pradesh. In the administrative scheme of medieval Kullu, Malana was thus aligned with the regions in the Beas valley rather than with those in the Parvati valley, with which it shares its natural environs. Topographically Malana falls in the Manikaran valley. It is also comparatively accessible more easily from Jari rather than from Naggar.

Malana is situated at an altitude of 2644 m on a plateau at the base of the eastern slope of the mountain range which forms watershed between the rivers Beas and Parvati, and on the right bank of the Nala of the same name as that of the village. Malana Nala has its source near the snowy peak of Deo Tibba, 6223 m, near Hamta pass. It flows, touching the foot of the village, through a deep and precipitous gorge after travelling for about thirteen kilometre before reaching Malana and covering the same distance further before meeting the river Parvati opposite Jari. Malana receives an average snowfall of two to three metres and

a good amount of rain between the months of June and September.

Approaches to Malana

The inhabitants of Malana have chosen their habitat at such a remote and inaccessible place that the outsiders can reach only after a great exertion. The paths can be covered on foot and no road was worthy for loaded mule. All the goods were transported to and from Malana on human back. Only a healthy person could venture to go to Malana for whom it took a full day's walk with a moderate load on his back. Malana could be approached traditionally through four main routes. Three of them led across high passes and the fourth was an all ascending journey equally tough and exerting. This peculiar feature in the physical character helped the Malanis in pursuing their ideal of keeping themselves undisturbed, aloof and independent. Though their habitation is difficult to approach, the people are not so, though it is true that they liked to remain confined to themselves and unattached to any outsider.

(a) Chanderkhani Pass

The pass between Naggar and Malana is described by some early writers like Harcourt (1870), Lyall (1875) and Gore (1911) as Malauna and Malana pass. Apparently this name is given by the European travellers. Locally in tradition it is known as Chanderkhani pass. The route originates at Naggar, the ancient capital of Kullu, and passing through the villages of Rumsu and Pulag, crosses over the 3658 m high Chanderkhani pass across the mountain range separating the Parvati from the Beas. This route is the lengthiest, about 25 km, and at the same time cannot be said to be an easy trek. The arduous labour is compensated by the appealing and enchanting views on the way.

From Naggar there is a long and steep climb upto Chanderkhani pass and then an abrupt and precipitous descent of about five km. The path passes, in the summer, through a

scenic landscape amid jungles and vast grassy meadows, with attractive large patches of wild flowers in full bloom. Journey through this route is enjoyable and is favourite among the trekkers. From over the pass, there are two routes leading to Malana. One is steep and the other one is slightly longer and has easier gradient. Yet it is said that mules can traverse through the former route but not through the latter. Harcourt crossed the pass in May 1870. Over the Chanderkhani pass Bruce found travellers performing some rituals and relates that on the summit of the pass there was much 'puja' to the gods, or 'demotas.' "Stones were set up for us in deference to the wishes of the same deity, as it was our first time of crossing the pass. This appears to be the ordinary custom, as the Malana people went through the same manoeuvres when we crossed the Rushok into the Parvattiya valley," writes Bruce. He further says, they got a fine view of the Gepang and the redoubtable 'M', but the Hamta mountains were shut off. Harcourt makes no mention of any ritual being performed over the pass. Gepang crossed the pass latest in 2008.

On the top of Chanderkhani pass there is a large grassy plane. In the middle of the ground there is a small mound over and around which a number of stone pillars of about 15 to 20 cm broad, 8 cm thick, and a metre high above the ground, are raised and some similar stone pillars are planted on the extreme edges of the ground. This spot is sacred. In the year 2008 when Gepang from Lahul visited Malana, a ritual prayer was performed on the pass for Jamlu and sacrificial rites were performed in the traditional manner for the *joginis*—the female spirits of the wild of the mountain passes in the beliefs of the natives of Kullu. The rituals were performed on his return journey too. The people of Malana and also of Kullu believe that *joginis* reside here. In Kullu it is generally believed that *joginis* reside on every mountain pass.

Bruce then describes the descending path to Malana, "We arrived at our camp under some big walnut trees between the two villages of Malana well before the coolies, who had taken

the short cut. They would have done better to have taken our way, as all our awkward loads arrived with us, whilst their lesser ones took a good bit longer. Jitman, who had been with the coolies described the path as simply a ladder of rocks the whole way."

(b) Roshkoling Pass .

The pass which is presently called Rashol is known traditionally as Roshkoling. Starting from Kasol in Parvati valley one has to cross the river Parvati and start to climb up through Chhalal to Rashol village. From there it took three hours for Harcourt to reach Rashol pass, 3048 m high, which he calls Kundee pass. He describes the crest as a depression between two mountain ridges. On the highest point of the pass he saw a large cairn of stones around which large perpendicular shafts of rock were inserted in the soil, perhaps similar to those on Chanderkhani pass. Bruce makes no mention of the structure but he observed the Malanis performing the same rituals over the Rashol pass as he had seen being done over Malana pass. He says, "On the top of the Rushok pass we went through all the business of setting up stones; at least our porters insisted on doing it on our behalf, to please the gods, setting up two special ones for us newcomers. Gopoo, the pious Mohammedan, helped as usual; gods are little cattle even for him." There resided the gods of the people of Malana belonging to their primitive religion. However, no such rituals are performed presently by the local residents on this pass and over Chanderkhani.

Bruce while coming from Malana looked back from over the pass and observed the overview of the scene on the rear in the manner, "We had a good look on our way up at the main Malana valley, and at the track which joins the Parvattiya at Jhari, a fearsome path down a most impressive and precipitous gorge. Immense cliffs many thousand feet high on each side, dominated at the end of the valley by a mass of mountains, and the best part of 8000 feet of precipices. No more disparate country have I seen in the lower heights of the mountains. No wonder the people of Malana have been able to lead their own

life unmolested for so many centuries when the easiest way into their country is by our Rushok pass, on which by the bye, we enjoyed a well earned lunch." From here one has to walk down to reach the Malana Nala and then again climb up for more than a kilometre to reach the Malana village.

These two routes remain open during the summer months and are closed during the winter when these are covered under thick snow. Gore undertook his journey in the month of November.

(c) *Bheling Pass*

The path originates at the village of Jana in the Beas valley, and passing through the top of the ridge called Bheling pass, between Jana and Malana, reaches Bheling, known as Bhelag to the residents of Jana, near Malana, from where there is about an hour's walk or around three kilometres upto Malana. Bheling is *doghar* (outhouse) of the Malanis, where they keep their cattle, sheep and goats. This path situated on the south-west of Malana is the least known to the outsiders among all the four routes and is used mostly by the residents of Malana and Jana and the villages nearby like Kotadhar, etc. From Jana it is a gentle climb upto the pass for about twelve kilometres and then upto Bheling it is downward journey of about eight kilometres. From the top of the pass one could turn instead towards Chanderkhani also. Ponies, loaded with carriage, can be brought upto Bheling. Earlier the people of Malana used to purchase maize, kodra etc., the local produce of the villages, at Jana. They brought their own produce like ghee, honey etc. for exchange and paid at times the balance in cash.

(d) *Jari-Malana Path*

The fourth and the commonest route, which remains open throughout the year, and is perhaps the shortest (about 15 km), begins at the village of Jari in the Parvati valley, near the confluence of Malana Nala and the Parvati. Crossing the Parvati at Jari, one reaches Chauki, opposite Jari, and from there the



Fig. 1. A view of Malana village.

road crosses over to the right bank of the Malana Nala and then continues on the same side till it reaches Malana. The whole length of the journey is a difficult and continuous climb and there is a steep ascent for quite some distance before reaching Malana. Various writers have highlighted this unusual aspect of the route. Colin Rosser describes that during the winter months the only route to Malana lies along the bank of the torrent itself—a perilous goat-track winding through the narrow gorge and below immense precipices. Falling of rock and huge boulders from the cliffs above are not infrequent and tend to discourage visitors to the village. Penelope adds that the whole eight miles or so from the Parvati valley are in the nature of a long and difficult rock climb. Another traveller notes, “this stage—a graded five-mile climb—provided such a remarkable concentration of hazards that the business of avoiding death occupied 90 per cent of my attention and the beauties of the ravine impressed me only during our rest-halts.” The local residents purchase their supplies at Jari and walk home carrying heavy loads on their back.

The tricky route has not become thoroughly accustomed to even the residents of Malana, who have been treading the path unceasingly since their forefathers put their first step on the soil of Malana, although, the degree of skill they possess in climbing the rocks and even scaling the trees suspending in the air horizontally and projecting out on the edges of the precipices is amazingly great. My hostess had lost her son about two decades back at the age of forty years, who fell down into the river from this very path. He was carrying load of ten *battis* of sugar and two *battis* of cocoanut, gross weight around 12 kg, the merchandise purchased in Jari for display in his shop which was to be established in the Shawani *mela* that was being held in his village. The corner of the load struck accidentally to the rock and he was pushed away and fell off together with the load deep into the river in the gorge through the cliff. Not a sign of his body could be sighted. The loving mother got the facts gathered and composed into a song in Kullu language from a person of Hesi caste from Chhalal village. She sings the saddening song with choking throat but with strong heart. Presumably this is not an exception. Tragedies caused due to the fall from the branches of trees and slips from the rock edges is not an uncommon phenomena in the delicate topography of Malana in which they carry out their daily chores. My old host had fractured his foot from a fall from a tree. Perhaps there is a similar story with many other families.

There are other narrow and much difficult paths leading to Malana which were used very rarely but only by the shepherds and mountaineers. From village Tosh, the last village in Manikaran valley, a route lies along the mountain top, which, it is said, remains snowbound throughout the year. A similar approach also lies between Hamta pass and Malana, along the ridge of the mountain range.

Mule Tracks

The people of Malana appear to have been somewhat indifferent and many times even opposed to the idea of improving the conditions of the approach roads leading to their

village and were also not accustomed to transporting their goods loaded on cattle. Yet there were occasional attempts in this connection from certain quarters.

L.W. Dane got prepared a road worthy for mules, in 1883 from the side of Beas valley across Chanderkhani pass. Perhaps loaded ponies could be brought only upto the top of the pass. This was an authoritative action to coerce the subjects of Malana to bring them under the regime of public revenue. Young remarks that, to the extreme dishonour of the people, they had to submit to the indignity of a large camp pitched within the precincts of their sacred village. The camp remained in the village for some days till they submitted and agreed to pay revenue to the government. The subjects of Jamlu in this manner were compelled to bow down for the first time in their long past in submission to a higher authority. Before this, as Harcourt informs, Malana was free from the burden of payment of revenue.

The incident was responsible for inviting a strong reaction from the people of Malana and even some villages around it. Rose notes that a *puja*, a great expiatory sacrificial ceremony, called *kais* for such regular ceremonies, was held in the year 1883 both at Malana and Naggar after the "mountain battery marching through the valley had killed some cows." The people of Malana and of Naggar made images of cows and paid huge sacrifices to them.

Dramatically the curse of advent of the government forces to Malana fell on an innocent and unfortunate official of Jamlu. Narender Sharma narrates that in 1884 Shukru, the *karmishth*, was charged with the offence of bringing the government forces to Malana. All his property, moveable and immovable, were confiscated and he himself was ostracized and extradited (Narender, 1988: 62). At another instance the government came to the rescue of the villagers on the occasion of a great pestilence which brought the village at the verge of extinction. The old Gazetteer remarks, "Their god has strong prejudices against the use of liquor even for medicinal purposes, and also against vaccination, but the village was more than decimated by

smallpox early in the decade 1880-1890, and in 1889 all the inhabitants cheerfully submitted to be vaccinated."

In reality the use of ponies and mules as a beast of burden is restricted in the culture of Malana. At one time rearing of horses was also prohibited. In 1980, however, there were 15 horses in the village. They also did not use sheep and goats for carriage, as the Lahulis do, even though they owned large flocks. Presently the shepherds of the village have started rearing horses to carry their luggage to move along the large herd of sheep and goats to distant pastures as the Gaddi shepherds do.

The relationship of Jamlu with horse is a subject of interesting debate. The devotees present silver icons of horse to Jamlu. At places an instance of *la'ta ghora* (lame horse) is quoted. There are statues of horses in its temple in the village which are exhibited during the festival of Phagli. In the temples in certain *deoghars* of Jamlu in Kullu the icons of complete horse can be seen placed for worship, but no other kind of statue is seen beside them. Indeed earlier neither horse could be reared nor brought into the village. Similarly horses were not reared in Shangchar. As the horse is thus seen considered as an object of worship, its use as a beast of burden might have become taboo in the culture. In Lahul, although Gepang is symbolized by a head of horse in its temple at Shashin, its economic employment is not prohibited.

Vehicular Road

Malana, probably as a token of its love for independence, had always desisted from easing the approaches in any manner. A new motorable *kutchra* road has now been constructed linking Jari with Malana along the left bank of the Malana Nala. But there has been undue delay. Still the road does not reach the village Malana but passes right at the height of Malana across the Nala. The distance of more than two kilometres, half of the distance for getting down to reach the river and the rest in climbing up to reach the village, has still to be covered on foot.

The work was initiated for exploitation of the rich and valuable natural resources of the area.

Ancient Caravan Routes

Malana is situated at a lonely and secluded place in the lap of a high mountain range. The inhabitants are habitual to the regular tough journey even with heavy weight of load on their back. Howell (1918) has attempted to trace the relationship of Malana and Kullu with their neighbours in the north and east in the medieval period investigating the trade routes and the communication channels.

He writes, "whole of the Upper Parbati valley is known to this day as *kothi* Kanaur, while its inhabitants, though they have forgotten their language and are rapidly becoming assimilated to the Kulu people, are still regarded as 'foreigners.' Probably they are Kanauris who gave up trade for farming generations before the road was abandoned. But they still know the road from Phulga to Rampur." The whole of the upper Manikaran valley constitutes *kothi* Kanaur consisting of two *phatis* of Manikaran and Shoshan.

Howell surmises that trade was essential but the conditions for the caravans of traders in the State of Kullu was not conducive. There was a 'Jagatkhana' (Custom House) at Rahla in Beas valley and one opposite to Rampur-Bushahar which place has been named permanently as Jagatkhana. The merchandise from the highlands entered the state through these gates. Salt, borax and wool came from the north and the eastern regions and wheat of the area and the barley of Lahul were exchanged for them. The traders avoided the Rohtang and Hamta passes, the usual routes for the trade with the Central Asian regions. From Baralacha pass they took the route through the Chandra valley and reached an uninhabited place named Phooti Rooni where the Bushahari traders 'and perhaps from *kothi* Kanaur at the head of Parbati glen' met them. Therefore the place is still known as the 'Plain of the Kanauris'. The big 50 lb packs of salt and other merchandise were unpacked here. The *biangis* (sheep from Jangthang) were shorn. The slipping of the big glacier in the Shigri in 1836 destroyed the traditional trade route. Yet Kanauris, who speak a Tibeto-Burman language closely

allied to those of Lahul and Malana, have left their name on the 'Kanauri Plain' near the modern camping ground of Phooti Rooni.

Howell further delineates that at the beginning of the 16th century certain forts above the Kullu valley were undoubtedly held by Pitti Thakurs, an unpopular name, the remains of whose fort are plainly traceable on a spur above Jagatsukh. His place of worship was the Prini temple of the great god Jamlu at the foot of the approach to the Hamta pass. Of all the temples in Kullu, the Spiti men, to this day, go to this temple to make their offerings. All other races must take their shoes off in the temple precincts, but lamaists go in fully shod; and when he is inspired the local prophet at the shrine speaks a language which he claims to be Bhot.

He always maintains that the god came from Bhutant (Tibet), Chin (China) or 'Panga Padul Mansarovar.' They never liked coming below an altitude of 10,000 feet. The adventures of Sidh Singh ultimately cut off their outposts in the Kullu valley, in the 16th century.

From Kanaur, the upper Manikaran valley, Kullu is connected through Pin-Parvati pass with the Pin valley of Spiti. Kullu through Spiti is further connected with Bushahar-Kinnaur in the south of Spiti, and on the other side with Guge and the regions of Kailash and Mansarovar in the east. In the ancient times this pass perhaps formed a regular route of communication between Kullu and these regions. Ruins of an ancient fort have been found at the head of the Pin valley in Spiti named as Ngyungti Khar (Kullu fort). From Parvati pass for reaching Rampur-Bushahar one could straight away turn at the head of the Pin valley, even without climbing down to Pin valley and avoiding the whole valley of Spiti, towards the Bhaba pass and to Rampur. This is a very short course.

This appears to have remained a regular route between Kullu and Spiti sometime in the past. We find some evidences in the Manikaran valley, as a remnant to these traditions. There are two places which are still remembered as Lama Guru temples,

although there is no standing structure in these places. Between Manikaran and Barshaini, near the village of Lapas, there are two places named Dharam-chua and Papi-chua. Near them there is a hillock where the boundaries of Malana and Tosh meet. On the Dharam-chua hill, nearer to Tosh, there is a place of a *devta* who is named La-u-da Lo-te-ra, which alludes to Lahul. The gods of Kyani, Lapas and Changna pay homage to this *devta*, who is shown as Lama. Below Manikaran about two kilometres away towards Kasol, there is the jungle named Angi Duga where there lives a Banshira (wild) *devta*. He too is called Lama Guru. At Mantalai the people in Manikaran believe that the people from Lahul, Spiti, Kullu and Kinnaur assembled and exchanged goods of each other.

Some impressions of the language which may be termed as Kanashi or Kanauri which might have been in use in the valley, are still found. Jari is the name of a village situated at the confluence of Malana Nala with the Parvati river. The term *Jari* appears to have originated from *jari* or *jaure* which was in use in the area including Malana and it is still in use. It implies the tender saplings of barley grown in dark room and are used as flowers in winter in the festivals, specially during Phagli, throughout Kullu and Lahul. Similarly Kheerganga, a place in the interior of Parvati valley, may be explained as being rooted in the language of Malana. Here *kheerang* means milk. The water of Kheerganga is milky white resembling the colour of milk from which it became *kheerang* (milk). It was later on transformed into Kheerganga. Rashol was named formerly as Roshkoling. The Gazetteers trace similarities in language and a few other aspects of Malana with Kanawar of Parvati valley.

This route was however abandoned much before the British rule. Mr. Dane, Asstt. Commissioner, Kullu traversed this path in August 1884. Forbes informs that there was a Buddhist monastery at Manikaran. In his words, "the place is full of fakirs and devotees of all sorts, even including Buddhist lamas from Lahoul, who have a small temple of their own" (Forbes, 1911: 106). Today no sign of the monastery can be seen.

Hugh Whistler visited the area in 1922 and gives detailed account of the journey. His description confirms the name of the place as Phooti Rooni for the place presently known as Chhota Dara. He travelled from Baralacha through Kunzom to Jagatsukh. He stayed at Chhatru from where one road goes to Khoksar in Lahul along the river Chandra and the other climbs up to Hamta pass, and stayed on the way one night at Chhika which he calls Jhika and the next day crossing the Hamta stream reached Jagatsukh by the night (Whistler, 1924: 120-27).

Egerton clearly identifies the location of Phooti Rooni. He visited Spiti in 1863. Starting from Chhika above Jagatsukh he reached in the evening after walking for ten and a half miles at Chaitro or Chhatru. Across the Chandra river lay the village of Old Khoksar, Yari Khoksar. On the next day he went upwards along the river for nine miles and halted at Phooti Rooni, the Chhota Dara of today.

Physical Features and Independence of Malana

The geographical location of Malana is like a natural citadel. Very few visitors could reach Malana. The *kanashi* language is another powerful barrier between Malana and the outside cultures. Jamlu maintains an austere atmosphere in its dominion. Lyall says Jamlu was much feared in Raja's time. He is prompt to punish the trespassers and defaulters of the rules of the village, and may be even beyond his territorial limits.

Colin Rosser emphasises the importance of this physical feature in preserving the culture of Malana saying that this severe physical isolation of Malana has to be stressed because it is of great importance when considering the social organization of Malana, and it is indeed the first striking impression that a visitor has on reaching the village—that of a small, compact community standing alone in a tangle of mountains, hemmed in and cutoff from the outside world by these very clearly defined barriers. It enjoys a sort of *de facto* independence. It has its own system of village government, its own court for settling disputes, and a measure of village autonomy quite distinct from that of

other Kullu villages which have all been drawn into the official administrative system of government departments and courts in the town of Kullu, and government panchayats and minor officials in each *kothi* (or circuit of villages). Malana stands alone—independent, autonomous, 'different' in the eyes of Kullu people, and certainly in the Malanis' own estimation. The author's greatest lamentation is the apathy of the administration. Another keen observer highlights the point saying, owing to its remoteness and association of the people with the great god, *devta* Jamlu, the people of the glen have always occupied a position of semi-independence, divided from the people of Kullu. This attitude is so marked that even under British rule as late as 1883 a mountain-battery was detailed to march through the glen and spend some days in the village as a hint to the people to curb their insolence.

The Malanis took full advantage of the unique geographical feature and guarded their independence jealously even under extremely difficult economic conditions. From this we can understand and explain an aspect of the nature of the people of Malana as to why they were known as quarrelsome in the past, as Gore remarks, and has been noted by some others based on the allusions made by some natives of Kullu.

Institution of Benevolence

Apart from the fact that the Malanis have been cherishing the high primordial ideal of the superiority of their race and the avowed model of perpetual isolation, they were very sympathetic and hospitable to the visitors to their village, more than any other community we know. The sense of generosity exhibited by the residents is a matter of surprise for the visitors. The moments of distress of the visitors is taken as an opportunity to serve them. This phenomenon has been institutionalized in their social order. Every resident, individually and socially, owns the responsibility.

(a) Free Hospitality

A visitor to Malana once he reaches there, cannot return home on the same day or go anywhere else from there. He has to stay for the night there. The villagers are fully aware of the precarious situation and the helplessness of the visitor. They have made permanent arrangement for all sizes of the clusters of the guests. A small group of persons can be accommodated by any voluntary family or families. For the larger groups there are two methods of accommodating the guests. In the first instance they could be distributed among all the villagers in equal number as is followed all over Kullu. Here social compatibility of the visitor with that of the village society has to be kept in view. The institution existing throughout Kullu is known as *kheend* and the guests as *kheendu*. Secondly Malana has built up a permanent indigenous institution to deal with such a regular affair. The village has constructed a permanent lodge known as *marhang*, separately for the *zamindars* and the caste people. They have a permanent store of supplies, the *sazavrata kothi*, from where the provisions are issued for the visitors. There are workers regularly elected for the purpose who handle the store and will at times cook meal and serve the guests. Such an arrangement does not exist in any other village in Kullu, although there are *marh* in many villages. People visit the village in large numbers when there is a festival in the village or a *devta* comes on visit from the villages in Kullu or Gepang from Lahul.

(b) A Place of Refuge

The people of the neighbouring areas possessed strong faith in the power of the Raja Jamlu and considered Malana as an impregnable stronghold. People came seeking asylum, escaping from the coercions of their authorities. Lyall notes, "Malana was a city of refuge, from which no criminal could be carried off if he got there." To the Malanis they were all their honoured guests and the visitors received treatment according to their requirement. Malana was a safe place and they considered it their duty to provide protection to all who came seeking refuge. The

phenomenon has been often interpreted as, "Malana as a place of asylum for fugitives from justice." Narender Sharma informs in this regard that there are retreat centres in Malana called '*boll*'. The *devta* takes care of it. Anybody can take refuge here, even a culprit. Tradition records that once the Rani of Kullu came fleeing and took refuge under the Jamlu. The Raja of Kullu intended to kill her for her alleged illicit relation. The Rani remained in the '*boll*' and the Raja could inflict no harm on her (Narender, 1988: 50).

(c) The Social Deviants

Another class of fugitives constituted the social delinquents, of which one class was of those who came fleeing with another's wife. This appears to have been a more regular affair and the system was known as *Karnu-Harnu*. This practice existed in Kullu and in other areas also where it was termed *karnye*. The *kardar* of Jamlu of the village Soyal relates an instance that occurred with one of his ancestors during the British period.

Once a person came to the village with another's wife seeking refuge in the village. The woman's husband came to know about it and he complained to the authorities. The *kardar*, an ancestor of the present one, was summoned by the authorities for enquiry. The officer asked if the complainant's wife was hiding in his village. The *kardar* replied in negative, even though he knew that the woman was there under his custody. The *kardar* used to fondle long moustaches. The sepoys pulled out some number of hairs from his moustache, each time he was called for interrogation. The process continued but the *kardar* remained stuck to his original words. In this manner the whole of the moustache on the one side was cleaned up. But he was not moved. In the same manner the other side also became clean. At last the *Angrez* advised the complainant that the *kardar* was telling the truth and his wife was not there in his custody. The *kardar* then came to his village and bowing in front of the temple pleaded before the Jamlu, "look at the condition of my moustaches, this I have done for the sake of saving your honour."

Jamlu appeared in front of him and told the *kardar* that with his blessings his family will serve as *kardar* upto seven generations. The present *kardar* says that he is the seventh and the last possessed of the *devta's* boon. He, as he says, also owns a document on this account written in Urdu.

(d) *Fleeing Couples*

Young couples who intended to marry against the wishes of their parents constituted another class of fugitives. They too were similarly provided complete protection. The fugitives remained in the village for quite a long time, a year or may be longer, till the matter cooled down.

Murphy contemplates the cause of origin of the custom of providing assistance by the residents of Malana to the visitors in the words, "To the Malanis their territory is known as the 'Valley of Refuge' and unsubstantiated oral tradition says that the original inhabitants fled there during some long-forgotten crisis. Now, out of gratitude to Jamlu, who protected their ancestors, these people unquestioningly offer refuge to anyone fleeing from any sort of trouble—though only caste Hindus (sic) are permitted to enter the village itself. This provision of sanctuary is occasionally of use to local criminals, who know that the villagers won't hand them over to the police." The British administration discouraged this kind of tradition. In 1875 Major Hay had to punish the head treasurer for harbouring a thief.

In whatever way one may interpret the nature of this kind of tradition in Malana, the only objective of the innocent Malanis had been to assist the needy.

3

Founding of Malana and the People

Nomenclature

Malana, in the local usage is pronounced as 'Mala'nha.' Some early European writers spelt it as Malauna. Rose gathers that Malana is so called from Mala'nhu, who was a Thakur and brother of Ja'nha. He ruled over the village of Malana (Rose, 1883, III: 263). The latter perhaps ruled over the village of the same name, lying on the other side of Bheling pass, as is also presently known and written as Jana. Here the villagers tell that Thakur Jana was conquered by Jeevnarayan, the present *devta* of the village. Jamlu is also revered here. This tells of the close relationship since long between the two villages of Malana and Jana. Prarthi traces the origin of the term from the Bhoti word Mon. He explains that the people of the Himalaya like those of Lahul are designated as Mon (Prarthi, 1971: 182).

Chhe-Beeha: In 1973, it was gathered that earlier Malana was also known as *Chhe-beeha* (six-twenty, or $6 \times 20 = 120$). It implies that the village when it was so named was populated by 120 souls. There are villages similarly named in numerical terms like *pandra-bees* ($15 \times 20 = 300$), *Atharah-bees* ($18 \times 20 = 360$), *das-shau* ($10 \times 100 = 1000$), etc. situated in the parts of upper Shimla and in the Satluj valley, on the right side falling in Kullu and those on the left in the erstwhile Bushahar state

(Tobdan, 2008: 134-39). This may not be the original name of Malana but a latter name and might belong to *circa* 1500 CE.

In Lahul in the legend of origin of the *devtas* of Lahul it is told that two persons were sent for bringing *char*, the pole for the *rath* (body) of Gepang, to 'Teng Mala'nha' (upper Malana). There is also a family called 'Malani', the one from Malana, in village Tholong in Lahul, who has a special role in a festival held in village Gushal across the Chandrabhaga.

Founding of Malana

The story of founding of Malana is explained in a number of legends. In one story it is told that once a band of hunters came to the valley. After having eaten food on the spot where the temple now lies, they went to hunt. When they returned after the game they found that the fragments of bread left behind had sprung up into the shape of corn. They took this incident as a blessing of the *devta* and assuming that the *devta* had taken them under his special protection, they decided to settle there and thus they laid the foundation of the village.

The legend of Dangu Danu: In another legend, as related in Malana, it is told that originally there lived only Danu, a *rakshas* (devil) in the valley who caught men and animals and ate them after cooking them in a *handa* (earthen pot) over the fire. Once he caught hold of a band of men who actually were *devtas*. Happily, unaware of anything abnormal, he put them as usual in the pot for cooking, mending the fire and making it more vigorous. He kept on tending the fire and checking the pot regularly but he found that even after a number of days there was no perceptible change in the pot. He made the fire bigger and bigger, put logs and then the whole trunk of trees in the hearth. The condition of the *rakshas* was worsening due to hunger. At last Jamlu sent the junior *devtas* out from the pot by turning them into small insects and lastly he came himself out. He expelled the *rakshas* and sent him to Nerang, the other side of the village across the Nala. He himself became ruler of the place. It is told that the *rakshas* still resides in a rock and a

sheep is sacrificed to him whenever there is an attack of spirit on somebody in the village. Danu was predecessor of Jamlu in the legend of Malana.

There is a big tree at the lower end of the village where the Lohar and Julaha families live. A platform has been constructed around it which is further encircled by a row of raised stone-slabs. This place is considered sacred and is dedicated to Dangu Danu, the god who is propitiated by the Lohars of the village. There are stories prevalent in the village about Danu Bhoot and Banu Bhoot which may be the variant names of the same spirit as Dangu Danu.

Jogini and the Old Man: Another legend in Malana narrates that there lived a *rakshas* at Malana who was very powerful. The *joginis* at Chanderkhani pass used to catch a human being passing through the way each day and send it to the *rakshas* for his meal. In this way one day the *joginis* found none except a very old man whom they sent to Malana. On seeing him the *rakshas* became angry. He put him for cooking in a big cauldron and then ate up immediately wholly without even looking at it. In fact the man was not dead. The man attempted to come out from the stomach. He thought if I come through his mouth, nose, eyes or ears, he will throw me away considering as mucous. Therefore he managed to pierce the scalp of the *rakshas* and came out through the tip of his head. The *rakshas* became afraid thinking that now his end had reached. He begged to be pardoned and requested that he would quit the place and go elsewhere. He also took a promise from him that his language will continue to be in use at this place. Jamlu granted pardon and also kept the promise.

Origin of Malana and Lohar: There is also a legend woven to trace the two sections of the society, Zamindar and Lohar (smith), from a common origin. It relates that there came two brothers and settled in Malana. They went to the jungle for hunting and killed a wild cow. They cooked its meat. While the two were eating, the younger brother being cleverer made a hole in the plate and let the juice ooze out leaving the solid

pieces in the plate. He pretended to have taken the juice only. The elder brother who was a simpleton ate up the whole lot. The younger one in this manner gave initiation to the generations of Zamindars and the elder brother's lineage became Lohar.

The story attempts to integrate the two sections of the society of the village. It underlines the importance of the family of Lohars in the society of Malana. It also gives an indication towards the antiquity of immigration of the class into Malana. The story comes from the Lohars themselves. This class of the gifted craftsmen possesses a story of origin of the families from a high social class equal to that of the Zamindars uniformly in Malana, Kullu and Lahul. In village Shachani in Kullu in the interior of the valley opposite to Panarsa, the Lohar family in the same way claims to have originated from a class common with the Zamindars. In Lahul the family of the class possesses a clan (*rus*) name common to and equal in status to that of the Zamindars, (Tobdan, 1993: 67). There is no such story in existence about the weavers. The earliest evidence of the presence of the Lohars in Malana is found in the description of Harcourt (1871). Gore (1895) says that the Lohars play the drums.

A realistic story is that the Lohar family migrated from Raison in Kullu, but originally they belonged to the class of Sunars or Thathiyars, the goldsmiths, who had immigrated from Bushahar (Kinnaur) and settled in Kullu like many others. They are highly skilled craftsmen of gold and silver. But there is very little work for them to do on gold in Malana. Therefore they must have added to their profession the more common task of ironsmith and the duty of playing of musical instruments with the *devta*. In exchange they were given the right to settle beside the village and they received regular presents from the villagers at different occasions to make their livelihood possible. The Lohars have 16 members in their community and they have a woman married from Grahani, about two kilometres from Kasol. They work to manufacture articles of iron like sickle, axe, pick-axe and ornaments of silver.

These families possessed no land and cattle. One of their girls

was the lone student in the school for more than five years, says Murphy. They have settlement at the lower end of the village towards the edge of the plateau towards the river. Again the Lohars have their houses located at a better location in comparison to that of the weavers.

The family of weavers relates that they came from Tholong village, near Tapri in Kinnaur. Now they don't go there. They know Hindi, Kanashi and Kulluvi but speak Kinnauri at home. They speak in Malani with the people of Malana. They also write Negi like the Kinnauris. They marry from outside. They weave blankets, shawls, *pattis* (woollen cloth length for coat, etc.).

Several families in the upper class of the society also claim to have immigrated from the nearby villages in Kullu like Saraj, Kharal, etc. Rose has gathered some stories from the families in Malana about their immigration. There live two families in the Saura Behad: Nagwanis and Sarwals. The Nagwanis claim to have immigrated from Nagauni in *kothi* Naggar which place is connected with the immigration of Jamlu to Malana. They are *pujaris* of Jamlu and live near the temple of Jamlu. The other family of Sarwals came from Sar in *kothi* Kais. They are guardians of the Sar (*baoli*), spring of Jamlu and live near it. They carry loads and do other work for the Ra Deo.

There live three clans in Dhara behad: Thamiani, Puchhani and Dharani. These came from Thale in *kothi* Baragarh, Tosh in Kanawar, and Dhara in *kothi* Kais, respectively. Thamiani correspond to the Bhats or lower grade of *pujaris* in Kullu and usually intermarry with Nagwanis. Pachhianis are tenants of the *deota* and the Dharanis are bearers of mace (Rose, 1883, III: 268).

The People

The people of Malana originally appear to have been a strongly dominating group. Their own land yielded very little but they earned from outside the area in substantial quantity in the form of rent or revenue and other forms. Despite all this, they

remained aloof, they did not immigrate to better places in the main valley and did not get mixed up with them. They were happy and proud of the way they were living. Therefore such remarks are not unusual that, "they are not liked, but dreaded to some extent, as uncanny by the other Kulu people." Lyall says that, "our government has diminished the superstitious respect in which they were held and lessened their conceit."

The Malanis themselves have no notion as to from where they came and when their village was founded. Scholars and scientists have attempted to define their race and the important traits of their culture in order to trace their possible connection with some great cultures. In modern parlance as is commonly prevalent in the area they are designated as Rajputs.

In the official records in the British period the people of Malana were designated as Kanets like in most other areas



Fig. 2. Young women of Malana.

around. The Gazetteer says, "the Malana people admit themselves to be Kanets." At the same time they are also placed among the Khash. "It is curious that the Dhara behad people admit themselves to be Rao or inferior Kanets, the Saura behad men alone claiming to be Khash or superior Kanets." G.M. Young addresses the residents of Malana in the parlance commonly existing in the hills at the time as 'Kanets'.

Ra deo: The people of Malana knew themselves as Ra deo. The Gazetteer notes, "The Kanets of the village are collectively known as the Ra deo when assembled together and are believed to be a joint incarnation of the deity." It is also said that "the Kanets of Malana are also a corporate body, the well-known 'Ra deo'. Lyall notes that, "The whole concourse of the men of Malana are themselves an embodiment of the deo; such concourse is called Ra deo. About forty or fifty families live in Malana, mostly Kanets but a few are of the Dagi castes." Rose defines Ra deo or Raja deo as the 'people of Malana.' At one place Ra deo is identified with the select group who go for collection of the revenue known as '*bari*'. Today the residents have lost the former meaning of Ra deo but the term survives as it is taken for the assembly at Harcha. According to one tradition the whole village is called Rai-si. Narender, however, explains that, "They call themselves as Rai and the outsiders as *Saiyyat*" (Narendra, 1988: 53).

The Race

Scholars describe the people of Malana in a varied way. Gore writes, "Though they dress much as do the other inhabitants of Kulu, they have quite a different type of face, somewhat Jewish in appearance, with a prominent nose and weak, narrow chin. Their language also is totally distinct, which is a proof of their almost complete isolation for some centuries, since it is inconceivable, that they could have come from anywhere but from the plains below." The Gazetteer holds that, "The Kanets of Malana have more refined features than those of the rest of Kulu, which may be due to a separate origin, or to continual inbreeding."



Fig. 3. A senior citizen of Malana.

Bruce observes that the several young men he saw had exceptionally refined faces, with very clearly cut features though none of them was heavy limbed. He also gives a scientific interpretation of the racial characteristics of the Malanis in the words, "The Malana people are a survival, but a survival of what people it is beyond me to say. Mr. Fitzgerald Lee, in his small guidebook to Kangra district has a short account of this curious fold. He connects their language with ancient Hunnish, and mentions that, on the authority of facts supplied by him, Professor Vambery came to the conclusion that the Malana people were probably a branch of the same family now represented by Turks, Magyars, Finns, etc. This is as it may be, but the features of the best looking of the men resemble the highest Rajput type to my mind." Harcourt believes that the

"Malauna settlers, the strange people who hold themselves aloof from every one, are a colony driven up from the plains centuries ago."

Sharma and Bhalla, of the Department of Anthropology of Punjab University, said to have conducted a morphometric study of the Malanis with a view to tracing their relationship with some of their neighbouring populations. Their observations appear to depict that the Malanis are a distinct population clearly distinguishable from the neighbouring populations of Himachal Pradesh. However, "The distance statistics reveal close morphometric affinity of Malanese with the Kulwis and Kinnauras than with Lahulies" (internet source).

In the present case the whole of the population of the existing district of Kinnaur cannot be taken as a single unit representing the whole district belonging to one race. Broadly, Kinnaur may be divided into three geographical zones which correspond to three cultural and racial segments, viz. the lower, the upper and the middle. The first two are situated on the two extremes and are under constant influence from their respective neighbours. Over the period of their long existence they might have undergone enormous changes which anybody can notice. Even the society in the middle is much complex. It is divided into several sections like Chamangs, Domangs, etc. besides the bulk of the Kanaura. Raha and Mahato state that the Kinnaurese do not belong to a single ethnic group, but to different groups (1985: 19). The situation is more complicated in respect of Lahul. At least six distinct languages are spoken by the different sections of the society divided geographically and some by separate social classes. The question of ethnic affinity of the groups cannot be separated from that of the languages here. Besides, there are other factors which cannot be ignored and must be explained away before considering the connection between any two areas. Lahul has customary strong cultural relationship with Malana. Gepang, the god of Lahul, is considered as brother of Jamlu and he visits Malana periodically. The language of the people of Malana may prove to be helpful in the study in this direction.

Kinners

Some scholars presume that Malana constituted sometime in the past a part of a wider cultural zone of Kanawar or Kanaur, the upper Manikaran or Parvati valley. In the course of time, Malana, being situated in a secluded place, maintained its old cultural pattern but the others who were exposed to the influences of their neighbours were assimilated with them. Indeed in the prehistoric period the Himalaya was inhabited by the people known in the history of India as Kinners and Kiratas among others. This cultural zone spread in a wide area including the Central Himalaya and at the other end upto Gilgit and Baltistan. It included the regions of the upper Satluj valley, the areas near the renowned holy places of Kailash mountain and Mansarovar lake, well-known in the later history as Guge and also in some more ancient local tradition as Zhang-zhung. In the Buddhist literature the Kinners are taken as earthly people. Rahul, quoting the Buddhist work Suthpitaka, forming part of Vimanvathu, c. 2nd century CE, says that the Kinnars inhabited the banks of Chandrabhaga, which may be presumed for Lahul.

The inhabitants of Kinnaur have been identified with the mythological Kinners of the ancient Hindu, Buddhist and Jain literature and that of the pre-Aryan Indian history (Tobdan, 2008: 56-58). Guge, Spiti, Ladakh etc. must have been inhabited by the same kind of people. Kuber was the king of the Kinnars whose residence was located over the mount Kailash. Petech suggests that Ladakh was inhabited upto the 7th century CE by a kind of people who were racially different from the present stock of race. In the Chanda-Kinner Jatak it is shown that the Great Being, the Buddha, once in his former life as Boddhisattva, was born in the race of Kinnara, in the Himalaya and lived on the Canda-Parvat, the mountain of the moon, together with his wife named Canda, Yashodhara (Cowell, 1895, II, Jataka No. 485: 179-82). Although the story does not give indication for the location of the mountain, the Canda Parvat where the two resided in the Himalaya may be located somewhere in Lahul, as there are several geographical marks having names connected

with Canda, and nowhere else in the Himalaya. There is the Chandrabhaga river flowing through the middle of the valley of Lahul, which is formed by the union of the two rivers of Chandra and Bhaga; the former originates from the lake named Chandertal, located in the same territory. Gandhola mountain, situated at the confluence of the two rivers of Chandra and Bhaga is an ancient historical place. Here a *lotah* (pitcher), belonging to the period c. 2nd-3rd century CE, with engravings representing the Siddharth's procession in the city of Kapilvastu was discovered in 1857. These areas were thus inhabited by the Kinners and Kiratas. Rahul Sankrityayan locates Kinner-desh or Kimpurush-varsh, the country of the Kinners, of the ancient Indian literature in the Himalaya somewhere in these areas. Ashvaghosh, c. 1st century CE visualises the presence of Kirata among those who greeted prince Siddharth when he set out on his life-changing visit to the city of Kapilvastu (Ashvaghosh, 3: 12).

Kinners were Indo-Tibetans and spoke *Kirati*, a language of the class of the Tibeto-Burman family, the earliest immigrants who are supposed to have come into contact with the original inhabitants of Indian subcontinent, the Austrics. The evidence is shown to exist in their languages in the shape of pronominalisation. Rahul names it in the context of Kinnaur as *Shu* (god), and in the present case it is *Kanashi*, a branch of Kinner or Kirati. They followed their own primitive religion. They were the recipients of the Indian Buddhism at the hands of the missionaries of the great emperor Ashok who dispatched them to Himvant. Among the ancient Indian tribes the Kinners are often equated with the Kimpurush or sometimes the two are considered as separate people, who are said to have been contemporaneous with the Austroloids or proto-Austroloids residing in the eastern zone of Central India.

Thus they always formed a watershed between the two great cultures—the Aryan on the south and Tibeto-Chinese on the north. Simplistic and backward in the eyes of both the cultures, they were known to the Tibetans as Mon for the term Kinner or

Kirata of the Aryans. Therefore keeping in view all the above facts, it would be logical to conclude that the inhabitants of Malana belong to the Kinner class and were inhabiting somewhere in these areas in the Himalaya prior to their immigration to the present location. Banshi Ram Sharma equates the inhabitants of Malana with the Kinner-Kiratas of the ancient Himalaya (1985: 17).

It is well known that in the 7th century Tibet emerged as a very strong State and the Tibetan empire expanded in all directions on the rise of king Srong-btsan-sgampo. Towards the west it might have covered the upper Satluj valley, Guge and upto Gilgit and Baltistan. The story has been summarized in the following manner, "The movement of Tibetan population towards the west started after the establishment of Central Tibetan Empire under Srong-btsan-sgampo in 7th century CE. Then gLang-dar-ma's persecution of the Buddhists prompted further immigration of the Tibetans, which disturbed the original inhabitants greatly. The original inhabitants, the Mons, were then partly driven away, partly absorbed in the new population and partly left as distinct social class as in Ladakh. To one of such uprooted groups must belong the people of Malana who now live in a completely isolated village, in a country, i.e. Kulu, inhabited by culturally, linguistically and to some extent socially altogether different people. Their original home must be traced, on the basis of their language, in the areas of Spiti or Guge" (Tobdan, 1984: 35). Thus in this manner the areas in the western Himalaya, like Guge, Spiti, Ladakh and parts of Lahul, parts of Kinnaur, etc. changed in their racial characteristics, and also in language. Others like Malana, parts of Lahul, parts of Kinnaur etc. remained untouched of the movement, and unchanged. Further, in the study of the historical aspect of Malana, besides the data on physical characteristics of the population and their language, we may be facilitated by some of their important customs and cultural practices. As is observed, the direction from which the origin of Jamlu is pointed out in its legends is constantly directed towards Hamta pass, Spiti and Kailash Mansarovar.

Some scholars speculate the Malanis as being the remnants of the army of Sikandar, i.e. Alexander.

Population

We get the first hint on the population of the village from its name *chhe-beeha* as referred to earlier. Lyall reports the population of the village at "about forty or fifty families." Harcourt also reports the same figure, which in bare numbers may be placed between 250 and 300. The same number was estimated having cultivated area of 342 acres (138.41 ha), in 1897. G.M. Young gives the census data at 376 in 1901. Rose says that it is a large village of some 300 to 400 souls. The figure reached up to 784 in 1981 and crossed the mark of 1000 in the census of 2001. The community, as a result of its greater exposure to and interaction with the outside world is witnessing socio-economic changes taking place at a faster pace. The traditional social bonds and controls are getting loosened.

The cultivated area of 342 acres (138.41 ha) in 1897 in the village had increased to 179 hectares by 1981 but the figure remained constant for the next decade. Verma (1960) gives the population of the two families of the lower castes as 25. The same figure is given in the census of 1981 for this class. But the data varies for the next two censuses.

Census of 1991: Here we give data for the sake of comparison between Malana and Jana, the two villages which are very near to each other and the two had close relations in many ways.

Village & Area	Popu- -lation	Male	Female	SC	ST	Literate
Jana 572 (ha)	2622	1331	1291	639	73	1016 (39%)
Malana 179 (ha)	608	330	278	15	0	46 (7.5%)

While Jana presents the normal demographic picture of the district in respect of literacy and the composition of the society,

Malana has a different trend. Malana shows higher gender imbalance which might have had substantial impact on its marriage customs. Average family size reported is 5.6 and the average landholding 0.8 ha per family. There is a spectacular increase of 35 (20%) and 493 (81%) in the number of families and persons respectively during the decade of 1991 and 2001.

Composition of Society: Historically Malana constituted a homogeneous single group. The society presently constitutes two major sections: the upper class and the minority professional class of Lohar and Julaha. Colin Rosser describes the composition of society of Malana in the followings words: When asked how many castes there are in the village, the Malanis invariably reply that there are two—Kanets (yeoman) and Lohars (smiths). But the Kanets so outnumber the low-caste Lohars (the actual ratio as given by the Malanis is 116 families of Kanets to 3 families of Lohars) that to all intents and purposes Malana is a one-caste village. Moreover, to the Malani Kanet, his village is in the nature of an entire caste; that is, though the Malanis are Kanets allegedly of the same caste as the majority of Kullu villagers, yet they act when visiting other villages as if they belonged to a caste apart from all others. The Kanets of the village scrupulously avoid physical contact with the Lohars who live apart from the main village in an area below Saura Behad.

Relation with Neighbouring Villages

Malana had been a role model for the neighbouring villages who endeavoured to emulate and follow in respect of the system of village settlement, social systems, cultural patterns, etc. Some villages in Kullu of the category of *deoghars*, have resemblance in many ways to that of Malana. Shangchar, Pulag and Koodung are divided into two divisions of Dhara Behad and Saura Behad, like Malana.

1) **Jana:** Jana, situated on the other side of the ridge is a large village. The two have many things in common and have close cultural relationship. Jana is one of the prominent villages in Kullu and a *deoghar* of Jamlu. It takes one day's journey

between the two villages. In a legend it is told that the first rulers of the two villages had origin from a common ancestor and the two were brothers. The two Jamlus have common method of performing the rites. Names of the officials and workers are similar.

Jana village, is divided into four chugs viz. (1) Jethi chug, (2) Grahan chug, (3) Jyana chug, and (4) Balh chug. The first three chugs belong to the village of Jana itself. Jethi chug came to be known because there was a family which had a man who spoke first in every matter, therefore, he came to be called *Jeth* (senior) and the section of the village came to be known as Jethi. Balh represents the four neighbouring small villages of Bani Gram, Shad, Parsha and Bakhaut.

Some of the prominent families of the village have names from which they are able to identify their original place from where they immigrated into the village.

2) **Pulag:** Pulag is one of the nearest villages which comes on the way to Malana from Naggar and is, although small, one of the important villages in its neighbourhood. The village appears to be under great influence of Malana in many respects. The pattern of settlement in Pulag is similar to that of Malana. The village is divided into two sections or Behads, as Dhara Behad and Saura Behad. The former is situated on the ridge and the other one is on the level ground. The village has a committee, a house of the elders represented by the eldest man from each family of the village, who settles the disputes arising in the village. In the event of indecision of a case, it is further referred for final decision to Malana. There are two *pujaris* who are appointed on the authority of Malana, who also have the authority to remove them from their office. However they must be residents of Pulag. The villagers select two *bari*, each for one year, for the assistance of the *pujari*. There are four other members; one each from each *thudi* (clan). They are changed on the 20th of *Bhadon* every year. In Pulag some families relate their origin in the following manner.

(a) *Nagani:* They have come here from Majhach (near Burua,
tharahkardu.in

near Manali) and were addressed as Majhach Nagwani and are also called Jwagi. They are ten families. From here they also migrated to Malana where they are known as Nagwani. They do the work of *pujari* here and also at Malana.

(b) *Thokan*: They were originally inhabitants in Malana and have migrated from there. They came here long back, therefore, they don't know the language of Malana. There are about five families here.

(c) *Majhachi*: They came from Majhach who have now three families.

(d) *Saraji*: They came from Malana and have fifteen families. They are called Saraji because they married from Saraj.

(e) *Thudi-Ma'du*: There are three families here who have come from Hallan, a large village not far off from Pulag.

(f) *Zagdu*: There are six families here who have come from Badahi, near Hallan.

4

Sacred Structures and Architecture

1. The Village Setup

Two Sectors: The inhabited part of the village situated on a slope is divided into two sectors called Dhara Behad and Saura Behad. These were originally named as Dharang and Sarang, respectively. The term Dharang evolves from the Hindi-Sanskrit word *dhara* (ridge) and Sarang is a Kanashi word, the meaning of which cannot be ascertained. There are villages named Sarang in Kinnaur and Lahul.

Harcourt (1870) calls the two sectors of the village as two villages, and Gore (1895) and Bruce as two Malanas. This is so because in those days the two sectors of the village were situated quite apart from each other. In the picture taken by Gore from Rashol pass, two parts of the village can be seen distinctly separate like two villages. Even upto a few years back, around 1960-70, a large gap could be seen. We observe that the lower section of the village is settled on a flatter ground and is also more resourceful. There is a large water spring, dedicated to Jamlu, from where the requirement of water for household consumption of the larger part of the village is met from here. The upper part of the settlement is located on a more sloppy ridge and no sacred establishment is situated here.

Middle Sector: The middle part, the space between the two

divisions of the village, forms the third sector of the village and was once vacant except some establishments of Jamlu. This occupies physically the best part of the village and also is fairly large in size. Harcourt describes that between the two divisions there stretched an inclined plane of the richest grass, broken occasionally by trees and grey rock. These trees and rocks have presently disappeared. G.M. Young (1911) gives the distance between the two sectors of the village, or we can say the breadth of the middle sector, as 80 yards and by the time of Colin Rosser (1958) it had contracted to 50 yards. By the time the village was destroyed by fire in 2008 the two sectors had joined to give picture of one Malana. Kaulu Ram, a senior resident of the village, tells that the gap was filled within the last thirty years.

This section is the most important and the busiest part of the village. All the sacred structures are located here. The community activities too are held here. The two Behads of the village are connected by a path passing right through the centre of the middle sector dividing it into two. The path is used by the residents of the whole village and remains busy throughout the day.

It appears that originally the whole of the large level land in the middle of the village was reserved for Jamlu's establishments and for community activities. Slowly some private constructions were permitted for the authorities of Jamlu. The old settlement is found on the edges of this ground.

2. Sacred Structures

In Kullu commonly the *devtas* essentially have a *rath* (vehicle) and a number of metallic *mohras* or faces. Even though they have no statues to install, each of them has a temple. When the *devta* has to be brought out, the vehicle, which is usually stored separately, is decked with *mohras* and clothes. The *mohras* are stored in the *bhandar*, a typical building of three-four storeys, standing alone in the village like a fort and visible from quite distant place. In addition they have other structures. Contrary

to this, Jamlu has no *rath* and "has no visible sign or image, his houses or *deogras* are rather granaries, store-rooms, or assembly rooms, than actual temples. They are picturesque-looking buildings, generally standing on the village green, and surrounded with cedars or other pine trees. These houses are called '*marh*'; some are mere granaries, others are also used for village feasts, etc." notes Lyall.

In Malana the establishments of Jamlu are situated mostly in the lower section of the village which continuously extends upward along a side to the end of the middle section. The sacred structures of Jamlu have been enumerated by different authorities slightly differently. G.M. Young lists the chief buildings, existing in his time as a granary for storing the grain rents of the land assigned to the god, a house entered only on the occasion of one of the annual fairs and kept barred during the rest of the year, a building within which barley is sown fifteen days before that fair, so that the blanched shoots may be offered to the god at the fair, and an edifice built for the custody of a golden image of an elephant, which image was presented by Emperor Akbar. It is said that there is no temple, in the proper sense of the word, at Malana.

The old Gazetteer enumerates, "The sacred edifices consist of Naroi's temple, the god's treasury, a refectory for all the householders who dine together during these festivals, a room for the musicians, and a building within which barley is sown fifteen days before the March festival." The sacred structures located in different sections of the middle sector of the village may be described as under.

Flauvarits

Above the link road, in the north-west, near the water spring towards the mountain side, there is a large complex with a small grove of a few trees including two big trees of deodar, named Flauvarits, dedicated to Jamlu. Although the trees were battered by the flames, the place was saved unhurt from the big fire. Common people are not allowed to enter within the boundary

of the premises. On the one side there is a big flat rock. The great festival of Phagli is celebrated here. There is a *dehri*—a small stone temple of Jamlu. G.M. Young describes the place, "There is a flat low stone where the great *puja* takes place, from which the snow is swept away first before the *puja*. Jamlu is supposed to come to this stone to receive Akbar's homage. The outsiders and even the common villagers are not allowed to go there." Narender says that in an enclosure of three stones there is the place of meditation of Jamlu.

Dehri of Jamlu

This is a small temple made of dressed stones with sloping roof. A man can hardly stand up inside the temple. It is situated on the upper side of the road in the sacred area of Flauvarits. *Jaure* is grown here fifteen days before the *konhi* Phagli, and *pidhe* (the pot containing Akbar's gifts) are placed here one night before the day of big Phagli.

Bhandar

Opposite to the *dehri*, on the other side of the path, there stand the two identical houses of two-storeys high known as *bhandars*—the treasury of Jamlu, commonly reported as one. The two stand independently situated at a distance of about four metres and the roofs of the two touching each other. On the ground the gallery between the two is paved with stone-slabs and the door of the lesser known *bhandar* opens towards this space. The roof is provided with stone-slates. A verandah encircles all around the four sides of the upper floor of the building. It is closed completely with wooden planks on the three sides and there is no window. On the front side the verandahs of both the *bhandars* are provided with usual openings known as *bidi-gunhi*.

The Gazetteer remarks that, "Jamlu's temple has no idols. It also serves as a treasury. It contains no door or window and entrance has been provided through the roof. The offerings are also thrown through this passage. The favourite offering is a

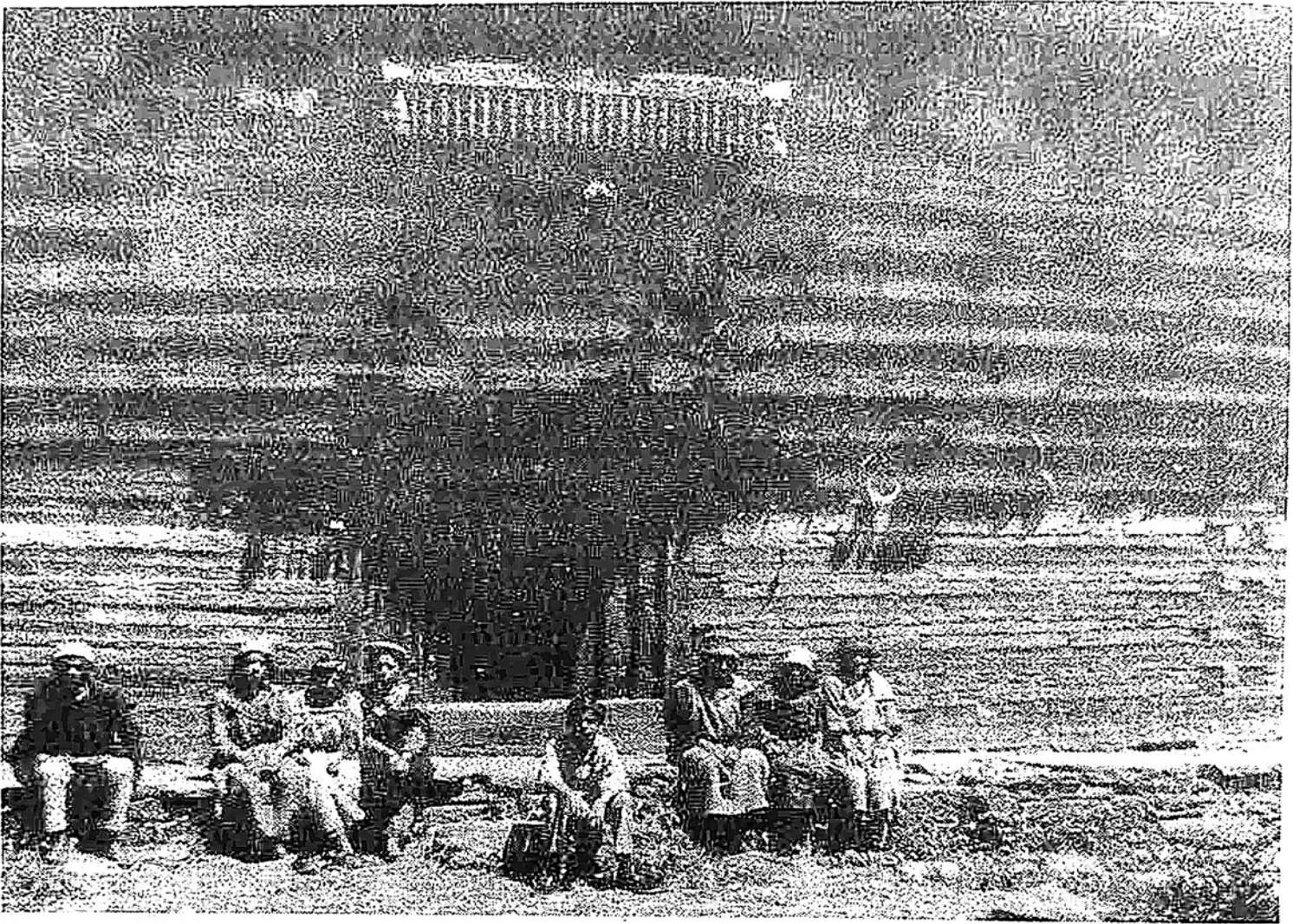


Fig. 4. Bhandar of Jamlu of c. 1960 (Courtesy: Roxi Studio).

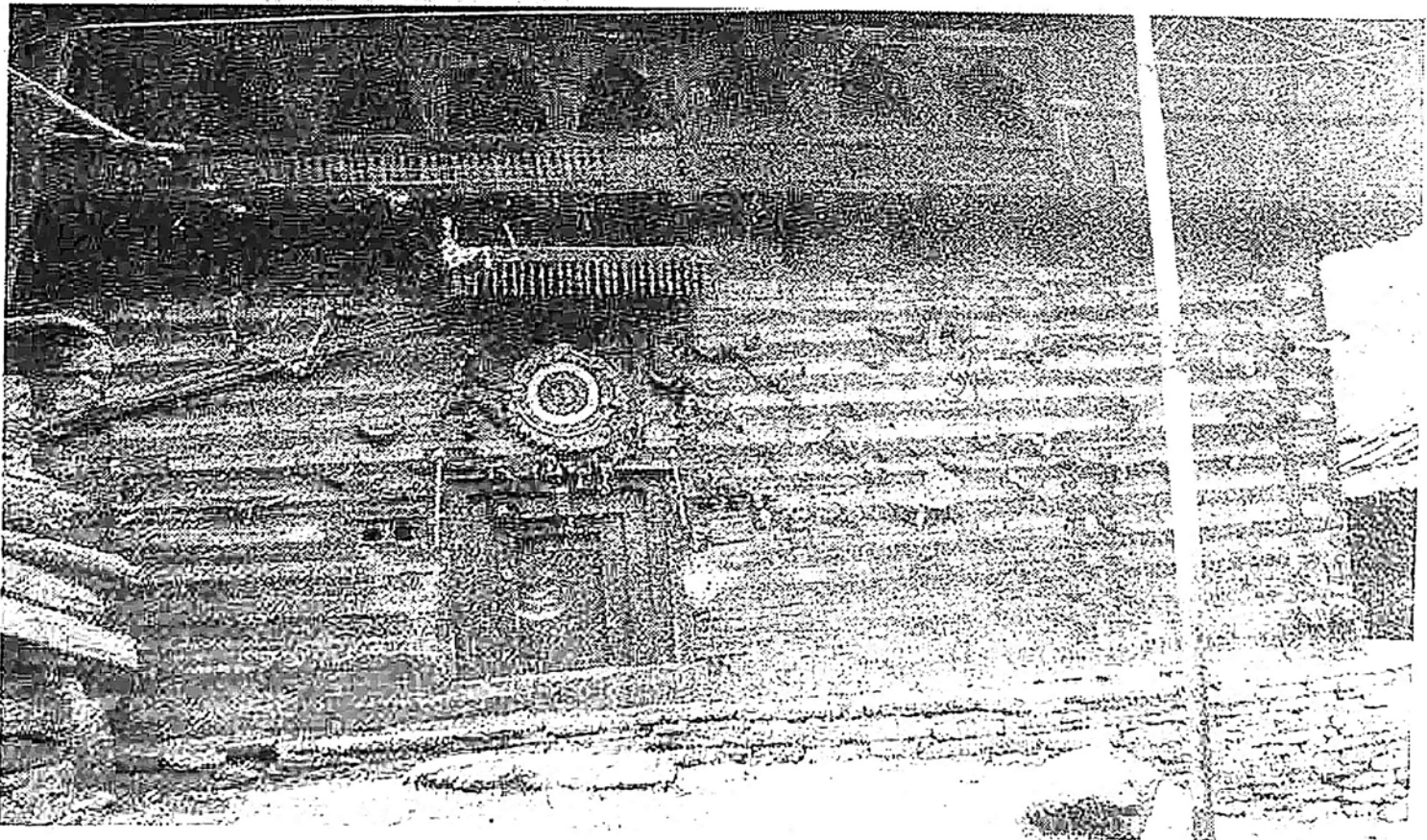


Fig. 5. Bhandar which was burnt in 2008 (Photo anonymous).
rdu.in

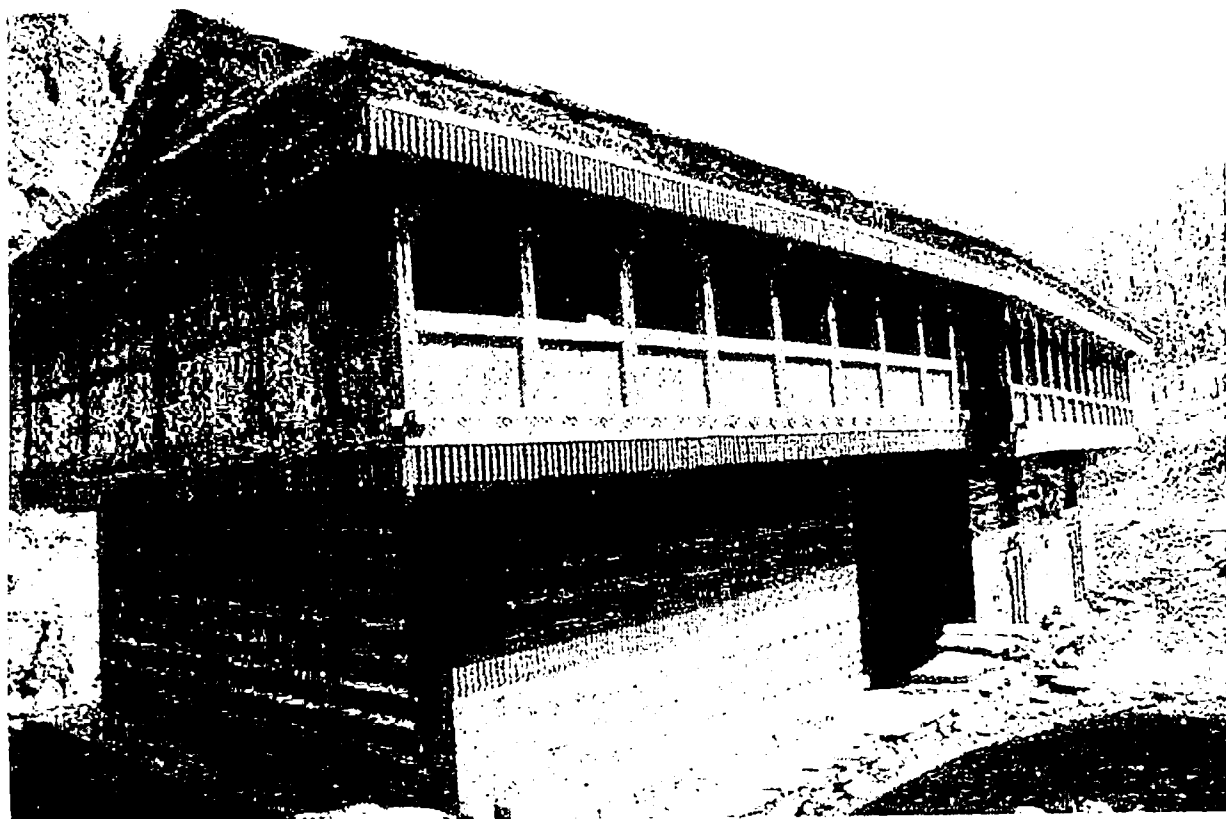


Fig. 6. The existing Bhandar.

silver image of a horse" (Gazetteer, 2000: 393). The people narrate this differently. There is a separate arrangement for the storage of the valuables, one for the reserve assets and the other for the day-to-day expenditure and consumption. Doors may be seen in the buildings of the *bhandar* of at least of the three periods we know.

Of the two *bhandars*, one is used as a storehouse, where the valuables of Jamlu are stored and the other one is used as a temporary residence for the officials like *bari* and other functionaries when they gather here during the festivities and cook their meal. Gatherings are fairly large and frequent. Thus the valuable offerings made by the devotees of Jamlu in various forms like gold, silver, cash, coins, icons, etc. are stored in the *bhandar*. It is really a *bhandar*, a treasury unlike the huge *bhandars* of other *devtas* in Kullu, which mostly are symbolic.

The old Gazetteer describes it as "an edifice built for the custody of a golden image of an elephant, which image was presented by Emperor Akbar." It is also said that, "The Treasury of Jamlu is believed to contain several lakhs of money, the

accumulation of centuries" (Gazetteer, 1917: 73). Presently it is told that the *pidhe* (pot) contains the (figures of) army of Akbar. The statuettes of stag and umbrella are displayed but nothing is known about the golden or silver icons.

Temple of Athara Karadu

Beside the *bhandar*, after a row of private houses, stands the three-storeyed temple of Athara Karadu typically provided with wooden roof. A verandah encircles the upper floor on all the four sides, with windows in the verandah on the front. The temple is permanent official residence of the *pujari*. This was the first to be constructed among all the sacred structures after they were burnt. It is believed that the spirit of *athara karadu* resides in the *pidhe* in which the Akbar's gift is stored.

Kotang

Adjacent to the above structures, but at the end of the village, beside the residential house of the smiths, there is the small structure of three-storeys high where the musical instruments of Jamlu, played by this family, are stored. This also is a community building. It is presently occupied by these families for residence as their houses were burnt in the fire and have not yet been reconstructed.

Musical instruments of Jamlu are of two kinds. One class of instruments viz. drums bound with leather are played by the persons of lower caste and are stored at Kotang. Others, made of metals like silver, brass and copper (about sixty), a significant figure, are of the type of blow instruments, and are played by the Zamindars and are stored in the *bhandar* of Jamlu.

Structures of Narodu

In the same division, towards the south, about twenty metres away from the temple of *athara karadu* at the edge of the village is situated the sacred area dedicated to Devi Narodu, demarcated by a path. Close to the path there is the *dehri* of the *devi* about one cubic foot or slightly above in size. Common people cannot

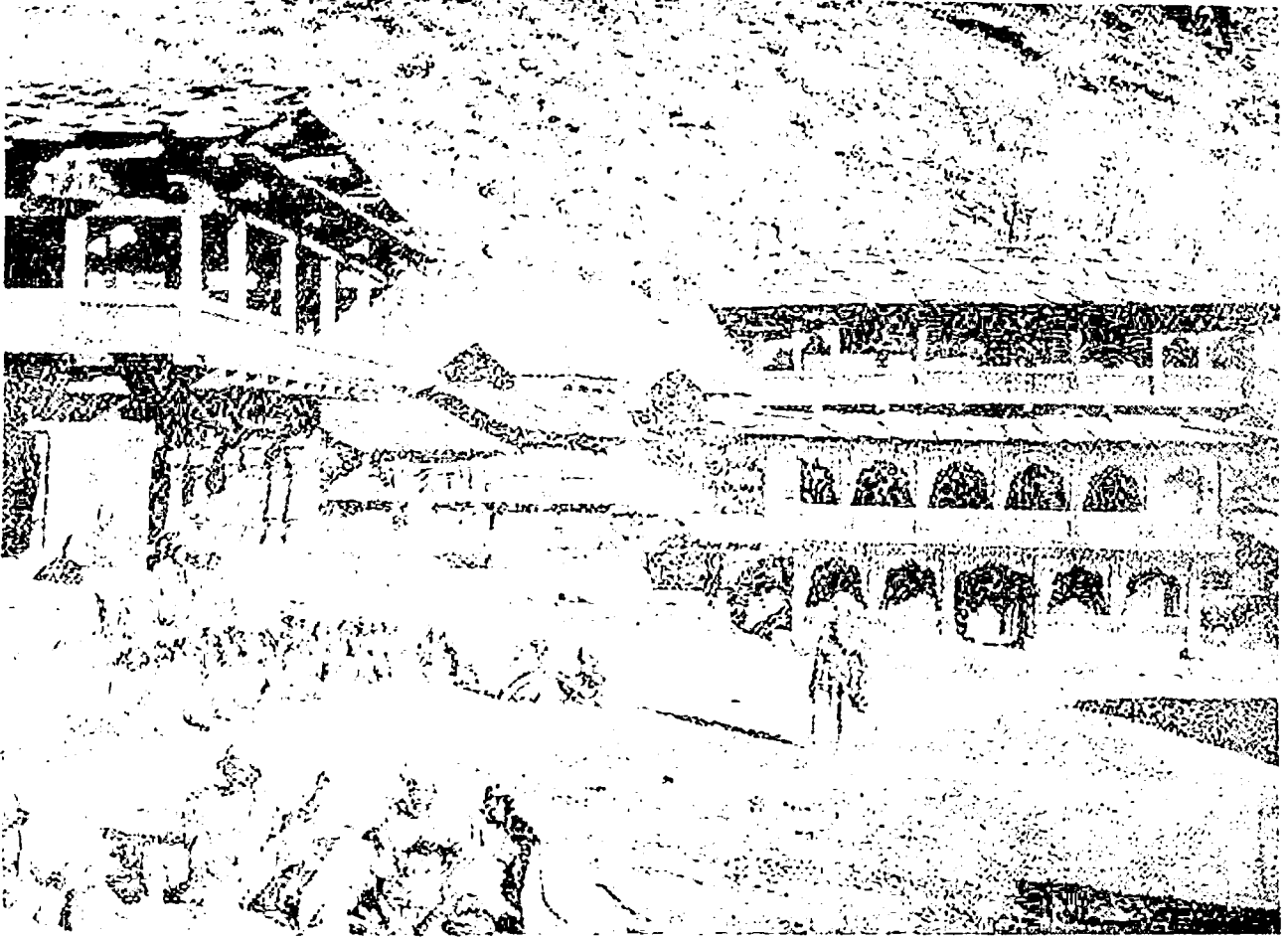
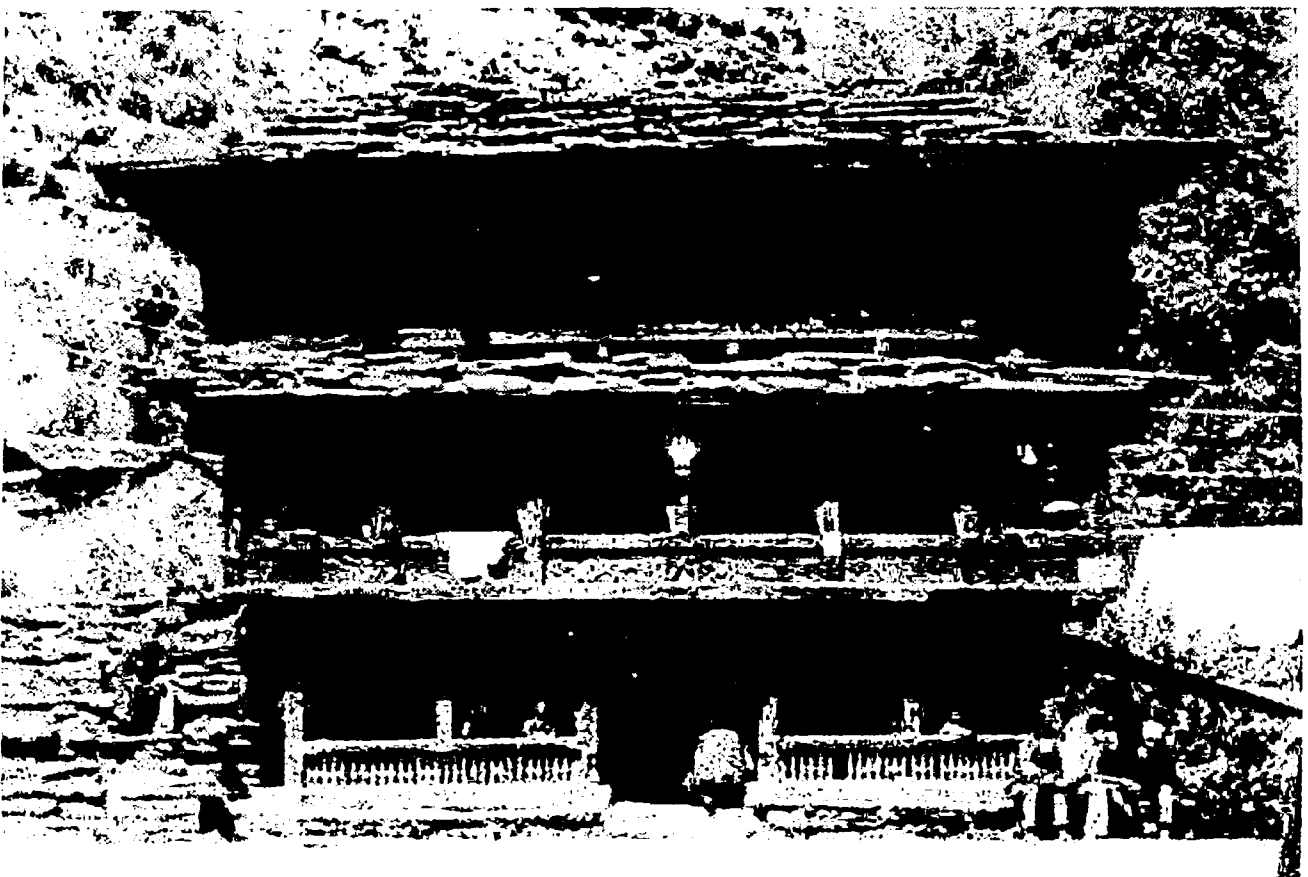


Fig. 7. Sazavrata *kothi* on the right and *marh* on the left (Gore, 1895).



Digitised by
Tharah Fig. 8. Sazavrata *kothi* burnt in 2008 (Courtesy: Bharat Studio).

enter the area. The main temple of the *devi*, a small wooden structure of one storey, lies under a big tree. Adjoining it towards the village there lies the *marhang* of the *devi*. It is a structure of two floors but not very high. *Smahan*, a large vessel having capacity of cooking 60 *bhars* of rice, is kept here which is used in the Phagli festival.

Sazavrata Kothi

The other half of the middle sector is situated on the side of Dhara Behad. Here lies the platform of judgement of the Village Council and some other essential structures. On entering from the side of Saura Behad on the right hand stands the three-storeyed *kothi*. Grains and other materials are stored here. Participants in the fairs and visitors to the village are supplied essential commodities from here.

Marhang

Near this *kothi* in the position of a right angle with it stands the sturdy old structure of *marhang* of two storeys. This is an important historical building and has survived the ravages of the fire. Gore photographed these two structures. It has an open verandah on both the floors on the front side. The pillars on the ground floor are raised in pairs. Visitors accompanying the *devtas* and the other large groups of visitors are made to stay here. Meal is cooked here for them. A new block was constructed about ten years back and stands beside it. In front of it there is an open ground. A mini *dehri* decorated with the metallic statues of horses sacred and devoted to Jamlu stands on the corner in front of it on the edge of the path. Beyond this the open ground is used by the *kor* when it assembles during its session. The place is also used as kitchen during the large gatherings of the village. There are three stones embedded permanently in the earth for use as hearth.

Janhag or Harcha

The platform of stone, known as *janhag*, *chauntra* or *harcha*,

the meeting place of the Village Council is situated on the other side of the path, opposite to the *marhang*. It appears that the platform existed in the time of Harcourt's visit (1870) as he found the court in session and says that "the three 'Gooroos' sat on an upper terrace and the judges gave their opinions." The *gooroos* represent the three senior officials and the judges as the *jathere*.

Gore describes the location in 1895, "I went down to see the lower village, in which is an open space, surrounded by curiously carved chalet temples. In this square sat a crowd of men spinning wool with their hands, and shouting at each other with loud rough voices, which gave one the impression of ceaseless quarrelling. They would not let me go into the temples, and seemed to consider the whole of the square rather sacred. The temples were picturesque in design and covered with rough carving and pendent ornaments" (Gore, 1895: 87-88). From the above descriptions it appears that the above two visitors, Harcourt and Gore, did not reach the areas where the *bhandars* of Jamlu are situated. In fact from the accounts of some other authors also we get only reference and no detailed description of the two *bhandars*. An empty spot on the Rohtang pass, on the point of second curve of the highway on the side of Lahul from the top, from where during the winter people take slide straight down over the thick layer of snow, is known to the *sTodpas* of Lahul as *Har-tse* which the other speakers pronounce as Harcha.

The sacred structures burnt in fire in 2008 were: 1. Sazavrata *kothi*, 2. *marhang* of the musicians, near the Janhag, 3. Kotang, the storehouse for the musical instruments, 4. Temple of *Athara Karadu*, and 5. Two *bhandars* of Jamlu. The structures which escaped the fire are: 1. The main *marhang*, 2. The *dehri* or miniscule temple of Jamlu, where the Phagli festival is held, 3. Temple and, 4. The *marhang* of Narodu. The main *marhang* was saved miraculously, where it is said that the wind turned its direction. It is also said that with the knowledge, experience and efforts of the Department of Fire, some houses were pulled

down, to save the other structures. Else the whole village would have been engulfed in fire.

3. Architectural Aspect

Residential houses in Malana, built in the same traditional style of *kaath-kuni* (wood-corner), of alternate rows of wood beams and stone blocks, are like those in Kullu and no aspect peculiar to the village can be observed. Utilization of the various sections of the house are also similar. The houses are usually of two or three floors and are covered with sloping roofs of thick and heavy stone-slates extracted locally. The doors are small, as is seen usually in the hills and the windows are conspicuous by their general absence. Normally there would be one room in one floor having a wide verandah encircling from all the four sides. The verandah may be provided on all the floors or at least on the uppermost floor. The outer rim of the uppermost verandah supports the edge of the roof which extends over it. Stock of fuel-wood and hay are stacked in the verandah, for use during the long winter. At the entrance it functions as portico and the whole verandah can be partitioned conveniently into rooms whenever need be felt. The outside walls are usually left unplastered and there is no custom of painting of houses from outside. From inside they are plastered and painted with earthen paste as is done in the hills. All the floors are laid with wooden planks, except the ground where cattle are sheltered. Here the verandah is largely left empty for free movement of the men and the cattle. The first floor is used as residential place. Rooms are large and spacious. The living room has a large open hearth with a tripod in the centre, but it lacks proper outlet for smoke. However, presently most of the families use the improvised iron hearth (*tandoor*). The topmost floor which is mostly of half space due to sliding roof may be used as store. The houses are generally situated close to each other. The environment appears to miss some of the essential and attractive features of a prosperous Kullu house. There most of the houses have an open space (*khaul*) on the one side of it, paved with stone-slabs and neatly plastered with mud and dung whenever needed. The Zamindars use it to

dry hay, to dry and thrash crops, tether the cattle in the sunny winter days and use in many other ways. On the one corner of it there is big stone block which has been dug up to function as mortar for pounding rice. The village paths abound with fruit trees of apricot, walnut and other varieties, the objects of envy for the children and an easy asset, although petty, for the householders. Such views are absent in Malana proper. The above type of construction has an advantage of resistance against the strong jolts of earthquakes but at the same time it is extremely sensitive to fire. The sacred buildings display some convincing perceptions of the high aesthetic taste, the people rear. Older the work more impressive it is.

Sazavrata Kothi: The *kothi* that existed before the one that was burnt in 2008 was photographed by Gore. The façade of the *kothi* on all the three floors were decorated with a row of pendants at the top of each floor. These appear to have been longer and varying in size than those seen these days so that it gave a different appearance. The one which was burnt had no such designing.

Main Marhang or Marh: *Marh* is a term of the Indian temple architecture considered to be of folk origin meaning 'temple' and coined as a technical term, but it is found very rarely in use in the high traditions. In the language of Malana this is *marhang*. The term *marh* is in use in Kullu, Kinnaur and Lahul. Here in Himachal the term signifies a structure near the temple, an accompaniment of temple, where the people accompanying the visiting *devta* stay and dine. It is like a sacred *sarai*. The proximity of the two structures of *marh* and *kothi* (the storehouse) in Malana can be understood better in this context. This kind of structure, *marh* or *maurh*, in Kullu is found in most of the villages of Jamlus.

The present building of the *marhang* was saved from the ravage of the recent fire. It does not appear different in any way from the one that was photographed by Gore. A minor repair work was done recently by replacing the large beam at the edge of the roof in the front and mending the slate-roof. On the first

floor at the edge of the verandah a simple railing has been provided. The pillars and the panels in the ground floor are provided with some carvings. The design of the *marh* in other villages of Jamlu in Kullu are much similar to that of Malana.

The Bhandar: Much emphasis, naturally, appears to have been laid in designing and decoration of the façade of the main *bhandar*. We have photographic sample of the one that existed before the one which was burnt recently. The photograph may be estimated about half a century old or may be somewhat more.

The façade of the building presents sample of a high architectural tradition of Malana. The small door of the *bhandar* provided at the centre in the front side of the building is designed on the usual model of Indian temple doors. It has four *shakhas* (jambs), the number found in the best models of temple structures all over India. The door is set deep in the niche of the thick wall at low level close to the ground. With its diminutive size, it gives impression of an entrance to a cave. Whether panels were having any carvings cannot be said from the present state of the picture. On each side of the door there are *teer* (side windows) partitioned by a vertical bar into two. Above the lintel there is another similar window locally called *shaba'ri*, which is larger by half of the lower ones, and is partitioned similarly into three. This window is provided with roof with a row of pendants, *chhurnhi* or *jhalra* on the edge. Upto this point the design is comparable with those existing in other areas in Kullu.

Starting from the level of the side windows of the door, the wall appears to protrude out in steps, seven in number, each placed over the other and extending outwards over the one below, like a flight of steps placed in reverse. Perhaps a row of pendants might have been provided at the edge of the roof. A semblance of the design may be seen in the succeeding structure which was burnt, but it is absent entirely in the existing one. Some similar work may be seen on the walls of two sides of the *marh* of *devi*. The total effect produced by this design is such that the rays emanating from all the points on the edges of the

front of the *bhandar* converge on the small and deeply embedded door as if entering into the depths of the temple, a deep dark cave. The building that was burnt had a large number of horns of a number of species of wild animals stuck on the wall in the front. The façade of the latest version of the building possesses a dispelling glaze of varnish on the carvings. These are the works of the professional craftsmen from Bali Chowki in Banjar valley, on the side of Mandi.

4. Wood Carvings at the Main Marhang

Some of the religious buildings here are seen decorated with carvings. Some visitors to the area have expressed their views about the artistic works. It appears that Bruce was not much impressed by the standard of the works, as he says, "the temples have little to recommend them, though the holy of holies, the abode of the extremely autocratic Jamlu, has some rude carving outside." Murphy appears to be a little emotional in his expression in saying that, "but it was the wooden balconies outside the first floor rooms which really astonished me. The sureness and sensitivity of their carvings as fine as anything



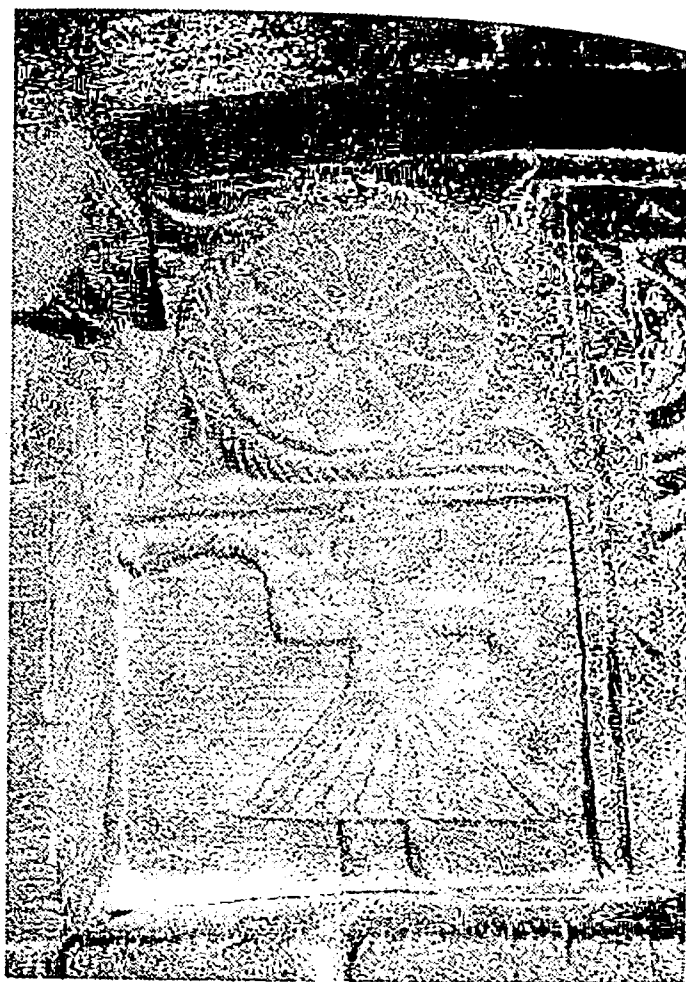
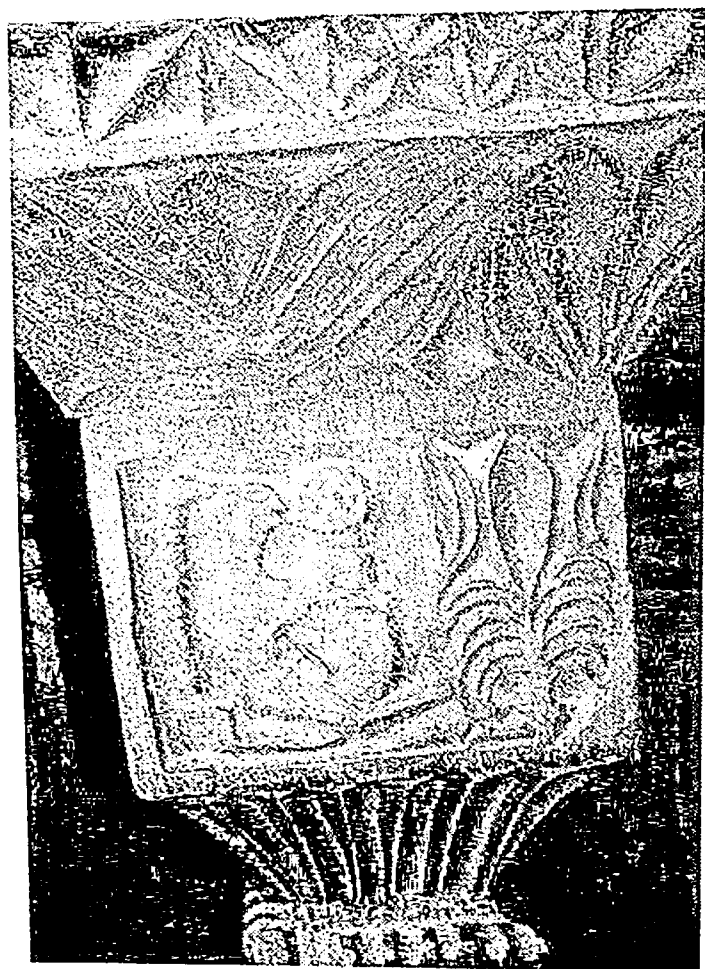


Fig. 10. Some decorative designs carved on wood in the *marh*.

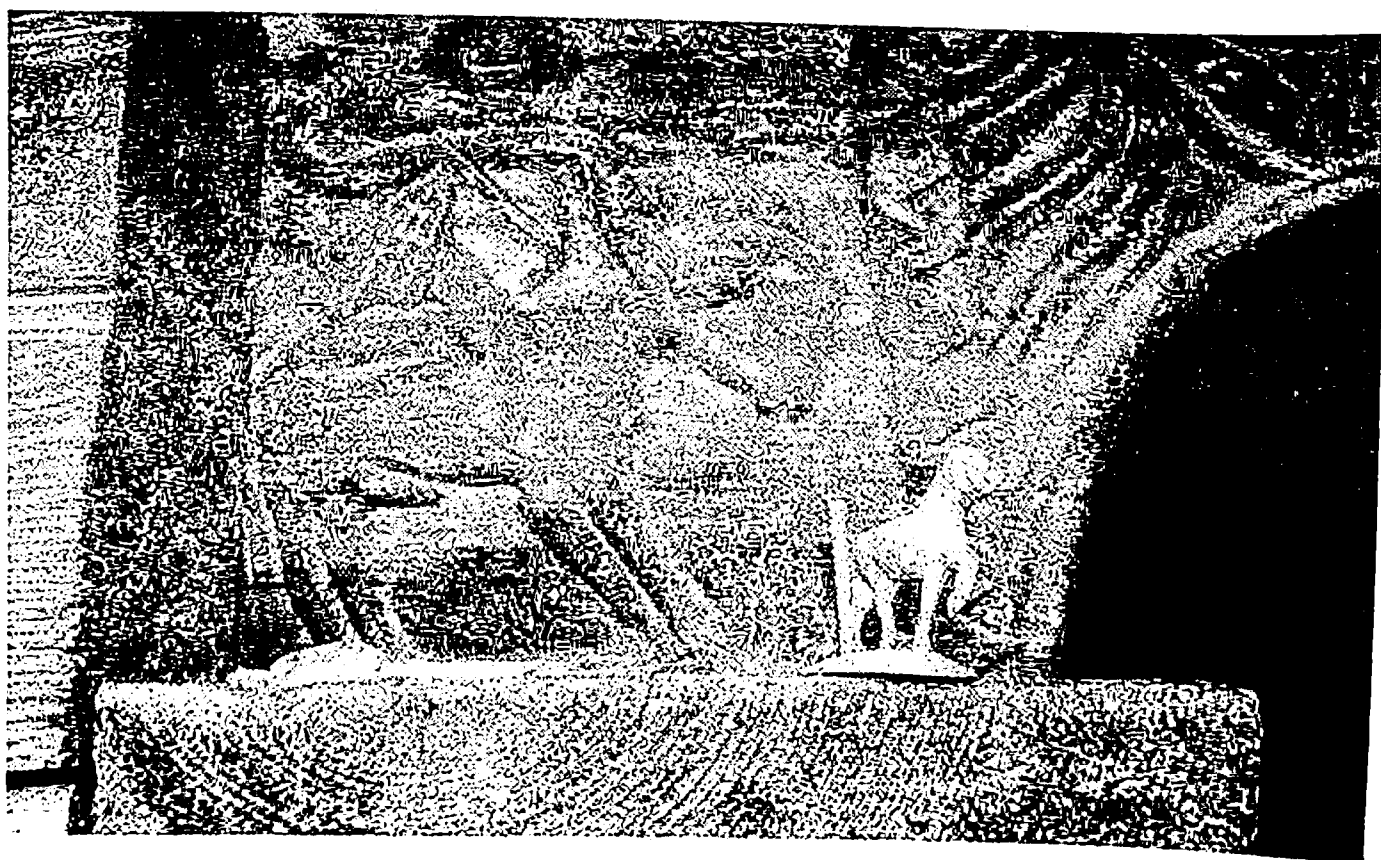


Fig. 11. Carvings on wood in the *marh*.



Fig. 12. Carvings on wooden balconies in the *marh* at Jana.

Germany produced in the golden Age of Reimenschneider—seen in this superficially uncouth and completely isolated community almost as puzzling as the language."

Among the old buildings, carvings were observed on the *bhandar*, the main *marh* and the *marh* of the *devi*, besides one or two private houses. Except the two *marhs* others have been lost in the fire. The second building is not approachable for the common public. This may be placed in age latter than the *marh*.

The various depictions generally appear to be discrete creations and are not bound in themes. Neither they are dogmatic. The subjects are secular. Horse is a popular subject of drawing and is shown being used for domestic work such as for riding despite its being a taboo in the village. Horses displayed in metallic form even outsides the temples are sacred symbols. They are placed in pure pastoral environment and are quite in natural shape. On this account the works are appreciable.

We look for example the works numbering about half a dozen on the panels, beams, pillars and capitals over the pillars on the ground floor of the main *marhang*. Firstly we see a naked

man riding a horse. He holds a box under his right armpit. With the left hand he is holding the rein. There is no saddle and the strap of the rein appears to pass directly through the mouth between the jaws of the horse. A woman sitting in front of the horse supports the head of the horse at its mouth with her right hand and the mouth of the horse appears touching her head.

In another scene again a naked man is seen riding a horse which again has no saddle, holds the rein by the left hand and the right hand is raised holding some light but unidentifiable object and another object is placed under his right armpit. A band runs through his right shoulder and the left armpit diagonally. The rein is similarly simple. In one scene a girl is wearing a frock and perhaps a cap. Her right hand is raised supporting an object like a *lotah*. In another scene a girl wearing frock is blowing a trumpet. Above her head there is a design of lotus with twelve petals. In one scene there is a *mithun* (a couple). There are also some decorative designs. In the works at other places the subjects such as camels, peacocks, elephants, etc. are depicted which are foreign to the environment of Malana.

In Kullu there is a class of craftsmen who are skilled in the construction of buildings, both residential and religious, called *thaa-oo-ee* (thawi). They also execute the work of carvings on wood. Although residential houses are mostly constructed by the villagers themselves, professionals are usually invited from outside for the construction of public buildings such as temples.

5. Reconstruction after the Fire

The foundation for reconstruction of the sacred buildings, after the fire incident, was laid on April 28, 2008 and the consecration ceremony after the completion of the two *bhandars* and the *kothi* of Athara Karadu was held on December 4, 2008. Representatives of the *barah deoghars* among which are counted those from Koodung, Soyal, Shangchar, Rumsu, Chachogi, Pulag, Rashol, Tosh, etc. attended the ceremony. The *gur* and the *pujari* of Gepang from Lahul were also present on this

occasion. The *sutra* (thread encircling) ceremony was held on August 13, 2009. Work on the *kothi* and the *marhang* for the musicians was being carried on after the thread ceremony, perhaps because these are not sacred structures.

In the matter of construction there are certain rules to be followed. Rose remarks, "in case of the slightest injury to the building, it must be entirely rebuilt within eight days, and the workers not coming in contact with outsiders or women and eating but once a day. A *thawi* or mason has to be got from elsewhere but he must have been guilty of no immorality (with a lower caste woman)" (Rose, 1883, III: 266-67). The above rule, in fact, applies in respect of the small *dehris*, the construction of which must be completed within eight days. If started on Wednesday, it should be completed by the next Wednesday. The small stone temple of Jamlu in Flauvarits was constructed by the two *pujaris* of Jamlu. Curtain of blankets was raised and people were not allowed to see the work. The *chaakri*, persons coming for service from the *deoghars*, worked for passing over the stones etc. But this principle cannot be followed for the constructions of larger structures. For this the workers come from the *barah deoghar* and the *thawis* come from Chhatan Seri near Nanga-bag. This time the work was assigned on contract and the carpenters and engravers came from Bali Chowki, Mandi.

Presently the villagers have changed the pattern of construction of their houses and have introduced the use of cement and iron, even though it is difficult to fetch the material upto the site from the road-head which is about two kilometres away. Lesser amount of wood is used now.

5

Village Council and Governance

Malana had been a self-governed village like an independent state. It has evolved its own system of governing machinery and judiciary, which is one of the most important features of Malana. Its sphere of interest, specially spiritual and economic, extended beyond the territorial limits of Malana. However, its effective jurisdiction is confined to the geographical limits of Malana. Scholars agree that the traditional governing system at Malana is democratic. The village has a Council which functioned like an autonomous governing agency.

Colin Rosser remarks, that perhaps the most interesting feature of the village is its political and judicial organization. Throughout Kullu, Malana is famed both for its Village Council and as the 'village of Jamlu'. In his worship, the unity and solidarity of the village are strikingly and elaborately expressed. Jamlu is the ultimate authority, and the source of power, in the political, judicial, and religious spheres. In this sense, the god becomes something far more than a mere malevolent being. His power and influence form an integral part of social control in general and of political and judicial machinery in particular.

The village is governed through a Council which consists of several sub-groups. Their members are partly permanent and partly elected on a principle which attempts to give fair representation to various sections of the village, geographical or otherwise.

Village Council and the Sub-groups

The village has two categories of functional organisations: (A) The Village Council, the judicial and administrative set up, and (B) *Bari*, the body of the functionaries and other workers. The Village Council consists of two Assemblies: (i) Riggin Nashing, and (ii) Kora Nashing. The first has traditionally eleven members which may again be divided into two sections: (a) *Mudiya*, the body of three hereditary and permanent members, and (b) *Jathere*, the body of eight members, who are chosen for one year and each one is called *jathere*. *Jestang* is a recently coined term for this group of eight *jathere*. The Council is assisted by some other functionaries.

Howell (1908: 452) noted that there were two assemblies in the village: Riggin Nashing, the Upper Assembly, and Kora Nashing, the Lower Assembly. *Riggin* literally implies upper, *nashing* means sitting and *Kora* means circle or round. In the Riggin there sit eleven members. Constitution of this body has been changing from time to time, although the number of members remained almost constant. Howell names four permanent members as *karmishth*, *pujara*, *gur* and *barta* and seven *Jesta*. *Barta* is an unknown term. The word is missing from the current usage of language of Malana itself. Taking cue from the affines of Kanashi it must mean 'junior', although there is a word for it in Kanashi as '*fak*'. The official must have been one of the junior of the former three. Howell's information is lone example but is valuable. His predecessors, Gazetteer (1897) and Harcourt (1870), as well as his successors describe the body as consisting of three permanent and eight elected members.

Presently there is no *gur* since around three decades and the seat has remained vacant. However the functional duties of *gur* are executed by the *pujari*. In the Council (the Riggin Nashing) at present there are four members instead of three. These are the *karmishth* and *pujari* and their assistants, junior *karmishth* and junior *pujari*. There are eight *jathere*. Thus there are at present twelve members in the assembly.

The second Assembly is *Kora*, the general body, representative

body of the people. The whole Council is headed by Jamlu, the spiritual head. All the citizens of the state, low and high, obeyed him always and his decisions are final. His position is unchallenged and permanent.

Organisation of the Village and Functional Bodies

For the purpose of formation of various groups and sub-groups of the Council, the village has been organized in various ways with each section being given a responsibility of its own, which may be given as under:

The Village: The village is geographically divided into two parts: (1) Saura Behad, and (2) Dhara Behad. This feature of the village, however, does not play any role in any way in the formation of any functional body of the village.

The Eight Clans

The whole population of the village consists of eight exogamous ethnic groups or clans. Saura Behad has three: (1) Yots Behad'u, (2) Nagwani, and (3) Thotswan'hi. Nagwani is recognized as the clan of *pujari* as *pujari* is chosen from this family. Dhara Behad consists of five ethnic groups: (1) Thamiani, (2) Puchhani, (3) Bairigeez, (4) Shillu, and (5) Dharani. The old Gazetteer records about the organization of the village in the manner, "the all-important *Kanet* section of the village is organized into eight patrilineal clans which are the exogamous units for marriage. Though certain of these clans claim that they were originally of higher caste than *Kanet*, they all now eat, smoke and marry together without restrictions. Three of the clans have hereditary rights to the three key offices in the society, and are accorded special respect for this reason. But apart from this, all the clans intermingle quite freely and consider themselves equal."

Mudiya: The chief officials of Jamlu, the uppermost section of the Riggin viz. *gur*, *pujari* and *karmishth* are chosen under this traditional social set up, each being chosen from a pre-determined *khandan* (clan). This body of the three permanent

members, including their juniors, is called *Mudiya* (*mundie* in Colin Rosser). According to Colin Rosser these leaders can be placed in the hierarchical order of *karmishth*, *pujara* and *gur*.

(a) *Karmishth*: *Karmishth* is selected from *Thamyani* clan. His office is hereditary and is chosen for life. As regards the method of selection, Howell notes that the dead *karmishth*'s son is taken by the *Ra-deo* to the Council platform. Two or three men bring two or three stalks of barley and give them to the *gur* and he puts them in the *karmishth*'s son's *pagri*. There is no other ceremony (Howell, 1908: 452). The *karmishth* is considered as the manager of the *devta* like *kardars* of other *devtas* in *Kullu*. His main duties are the management of the land owned by *Jamlu* and all affairs connected with the god's treasury. Colin Rosser notes that he is responsible to the Council for all the accounts, although he is not recognized as the chairman of the Council; he seems to act in this capacity. On this point Howell writes that he conducts service, brings water (from *Kanaur*), presides at the assembly, collects revenue, conducts cases and gathers the *jesthas* together.

(b) *Pujari*: The elder *pujari* is elected from *Nagwani* clan. Howell suggests that the method of selection of *pujari* is the same as that of *gur*. Collin Rosser says that the senior *pujari*, after his election, has to undergo a test. He is placed in a pit which is covered with wooden planks and earth is strewn over it and a plough is run. Then seeds of *sarson* (mustard) is thrown in it. This process remains for several hours and the music of the *devta* is played continuously. He is brought out at a fixed time. Then he is carried on the shoulder in a procession up to the seat of the god. Here he bows down. He is offered a *pugri* (turban) on behalf of the god and then he is taken at the *chauntra* (platform) and is made to take a vow.

(c) *Gur*: *Gur* is the mouthpiece of the god who speaks and expresses his thoughts and wishes. The people pose questions (*pooch*) and place their problems before the god (the *gur*) who duly answers and shows the ways for allaying their worries. He is elected from *Durani* or *Puchhani*, either of the two clans.

Among all the officials his life is more disciplined. He maintains long hairs without cutting throughout his life and has to wear a special dress, a woollen gown with a waistband. Presently the office of *gur* is lying vacant since 1982. There are many Jamlu *devtas* at present without *gur*, but none without a *pujari*. In Chhani there is no *gur* for the last 70-80 years. However, Jamlu of Koodung, Tosh, Peej and Soyal have *gurs*.

Purification Process: All the members of *mudiya*, senior or junior, have to undergo the test of *poozi* (purification). The same operation has to be followed also for purification of a member of the village society who has become polluted. The procedure is the same in both the cases for purification of the pious and the defiled. The procedure of purification (*poozi thek*) followed in Malana is as follows.

Poozi Thek: In 2009 a ceremony was performed for purification, and to bring back into the normal social order, of a young man who had deviated from certain social norms. He had committed a default by sharing food and drink in a dinner with an unfamiliar group of persons. He was punished to undergo the prescribed exercise of ritual purification. A pit is excavated large enough for a man to enter it comfortably. A basket filled with buckwheat and some splinters of *kail* wood are placed in it. He lights the splinters as he enters the pit. Then the pit is covered with wooden planks on which a layer of earth is spread and seeds of barley are strewn. Then a plough is run three times through it with two small and young bullocks. Soon the pit is opened and the man is brought out. Thereafter he has to sacrifice some four or five sheep and feast the office-bearers of the god and the relatives. There is no such penalty prescribed for women. In the case of the members of *mudiya* undergoing the religious test, the prescribed number of sheep is two.

Rai-shai beejna ta tsokha kerna (To sow rai and shai and to purify): At Chhani, it is related that the rite of purification has to be followed by the occupants of all the three religious or semi-religious offices of *gur*, *pujari* and *karmishth*. A pit is dug up. The *pujari* takes bath, wears *dhoti* and *janeo* (sacred thread)

and then lies in the pit. A white cloth called *karchan*, symbolically a shroud, is covered over him. Then the pit is covered with wooden planks and earth is strewn over it. Two male persons who are *mama-bhanja* (maternal uncle and nephew) or closely related to the person in the pit, draw plough over the earth. They sow the seeds of *rae* (Indian mustard, or brown mustard (*Brassica juncea*) and *shae* (mustard). Then a woman who is married and has her husband living (*suhagin*), a closely related, does the symbolic act of reaping the crop of *rae* and *shae*, with a sickle. Thereafter the person in ordeal is brought out from the pit. One *lohre* (a ram, castrated) is slaughtered, its head is buried in the pit and drops of blood are offered. Then he sits near the *thauda* (platform) of the *devta*. The *gur* sits in the centre and the *khanda* (sword) and *dhhadhachh* (incense-holder) of the *devta*, are placed before him. The *karmishth* sits on his right and the *pujari* on the left. Then the pit is filled up. All this is performed in the *brahma-muhurt* (the auspicious hour) in the morning at about 4 o'clock. Then he takes bath again and wears *dhoti*. It is considered as his rebirth. He is reborn as a sacred and ritually a person free of pollution. Throughout his life he will exert to follow certain principles to keep himself unpolluted. The *pujara* says that the same procedure is followed for the purification of the *gurs* in Malana. The system is slightly refined here.

The three officials have now to lead a purer life and shun tobacco, cigarette, etc. completely. Rose notes that the *kardar* and *gur* do not plough land, do not smoke tobacco, and must not remain near any corpse even if the corpse is one of the family and will not use skin to cross rivers. They will avoid *sutak-patak* (involvement in the rites of birth and death) and touching certain class of persons.

The nature of job of each of the above three officials is different and they function in individual capacity. Of these three, *gur* and *pujari* are more closely associated with Jamlu, and their function is sacred and spiritual in nature. Besides this the three are also part and parcel of the judicial and administrative body, i.e. the Village Council. The nature of the job of that of *karmishth* is

more secular. A member has to get himself relieved or he may be expelled on the decision of the majority of both the assemblies, on his becoming unfit to discharge his duties due to bad health or on becoming an offender.

At Chhani it is further told that whenever there is a birth or death in a house, even in his own house, the *karmishth*, *gur* or *pujari* do not touch any member of the house. They leave the house to live separately and cook food themselves. The separation is maintained for fifteen days.

The Chugs

The eight clans are further politically organized into four *chugs* (divisions). These are: (1) Thamyani, (2) Dharani, (3) Puchhani, and (4) Salwar. Each *chug* consists of two clans but presently not necessarily by pairing the whole lineages. For example the Thamyani *chug* consists of the whole of the Bairigeez, some three or four families from Shillu and some others.

Jathere: The *chugs* select the eight *jathere*, the second group of the Village Council; each member is called *jathere*, *jestus* or *jestha*. All the eight members are equal in status and work collectively as a single unit. They come and go together. They are exclusively devoted to the administrative and judicial functions.

Qualification for jathere: The essential qualifications for being chosen as a *jathere* are that he must be a married, must not be physically maimed or deformed, and must have been born in the village. Today only the last condition may be considered as relevant.

Procedure of election: The eight *jathere* are elected from among the members of *Kora*, two members from each of the four *chugs*, according to democratic principles. The old Gazetteer notes that they appoint a council of eight *jathira*, or jurymen, who decide all disputes which arise among the people of Malana; their decision is never questioned, and "our courts are never troubled with cases from the village." Constitution of the Council with

Jamlu as the spiritual head makes the whole organization a little complex and unique.

Colin Rosser says that there may be contests among the members, but this is discouraged and are elected unanimously. They are elected for four-five years. The eight offices are considered as having fallen vacant, on one of the offices becoming vacant. In such a moment the three permanent members sit on the *janhag*, as it is not left vacant. The process for the election of the members has to be started immediately. All this happens before the *Kora* who initiate the process immediately. After the election is over the senior *pujari* leads them by holding their hands, to the platform. After this a member of the society or the younger *karmishth*, kills a goat and shows the *drat* (sickle), stained with fresh blood, on the platform, before each newly elected member, one by one. All the members, newly elected and the permanent ones, touch the knife with a finger and mark the blood on their forehead, saying loudly, Ho! Ho!

Rosser further says that all the adult males of the village are required to assemble before the platform. On the platform, the permanent nucleus of the Council—the *karmishth*, *pujara*, and *gur*—sit apart and alone. The assembly squats on the grass quadrangle, each *chug* being grouped slightly apart from the others. The *karmishth* calls out to the villagers to put forward their representatives to serve on the god's council. Each pair of clans then elects its two elders by majority vote. Only the head of a household is allowed to vote: the principle is 'one vote per house'. Women have no vote, and in fact may not be present at an election. An elder may be re-elected if thought satisfactory by his group.

The period between the two elections is quite irregular. In general practice, however, the old men of the village tell that an election usually occurs, for one reason or another, every two year or so, says Rosser.

Rosser continues to tell that the *Kora* can also raise allegations against the members of the *Jestang*. If the *Jestang* opposes this, they can consult among themselves secretly and they may

propose to tender resignation before the *Kora*. If the *Kora* disapproves the resignation they can continue to serve. If they don't want to remain, the members of *Thamyani chug* come down from the *janhag* jumping and then the other members also come down. Only three permanent members are left there and they remain there till the other members are elected. The allegation of the *Kora* against the members of the *Jestang* is considered as a blame upon them.

Body of the Village Elder and *Kora* Nashing

The congregation of the representatives of the people, is named as *Kora* or *kora-nashing* (circle or sitting in circle), usually known as *Kor*. It constitutes the eldest male representative from each family of the village which number around two hundred. It is a permanent body. The membership of the *Kora* is permanent and is inherited and devolves from father to the eldest son. Any person participating in the activities of the Council has to necessarily become its member. The token membership for admission is one rupee per member. All the new higher functionaries have to register themselves as member of *Kora*. Membership is said to be open for volunteers also by paying the usual admission fee. When the Council is in session, two officials, may be *pujari* and a *jathere*, sit in the *Kora*, below the platform.

Kora is the broad ground level base organization of the Village Council. It is a perpetual body. Its numerical strength cannot diminish. Its member is called *chaakar*. On the event of any of its regular member vacating his seat, mostly due to natural cause, the next eligible member of the same family is admitted immediately.

It works in coordination with the Upper Assembly and also keeps constant watch over the constitution of the body and steps in for reparation immediately as soon as it observes any deficiency in it. It may select a member for the vacant seat or may reconstitute the whole Upper Assembly as the case may be. It maintains the Upper Assembly in constant working order.

Hood: The villager who is not member of the *Kora* is known as *hood*.

Functions of the Council: Colin Rosser enumerates the functions of the Council in the way that, firstly, it is the secular government of the village, enacting laws, organizing and controlling communal work such as the repairing of a path or water-mill. Secondly, it acts as Jamlu's 'vestry', deciding on what expenditure should be made from the treasury, supervising the god's land and tenants, arranging for new instruments for the band or the re-building of the temple, and so forth. And finally, it acts as the village court to try cases and settle disputes.

The judicial function of the Council seems to loom largest in the minds of the people, says Colin Rosser. Regarding the enacting of laws or formulation of rules, there would be very little to do.

Meeting of the Council: All meetings (except when there is heavy snow), writes Rosser, are held on the large stone platform in the centre of the village known as *chauntra/janhag*. A *pogaldar* takes up a small piece of stick, which is called *kandyali* and, from a point near the platform, shouts loudly at intervals for about twenty minutes, all the time twirling the stick rapidly in his hand. After the last shout, he places the stick on the platform before the Council, thus signifying the closing of the attendance roll. By this time all the adult males present in the village are required to assemble on the patch of ground before the platform. On hearing his call the members assemble to attend the meeting leaving their work, even though it may be important. Although the Council has a superior position it cannot act on important matters without the consent of *Kora*. The eight elders survey the assembly to see who is absent from their respective *chug*. If any one is absent, a messenger will be sent to his house to call him. Any one who has not attended willfully, is fined, three *paisa* if he comes immediately, one *anna* if he comes within a short time, and two *annas* if he fails to come altogether, according to some old custom. The attendance of the members of the *Kora* at each meeting of the Council is therefore considered compulsory and strong action in addition to those formal fines is taken

against any member who consistently neglects this duty.

All discussions and decisions take place in full public hearing of the community. The public listens to the arguments, or evidence in a case, and hears how a decision has been reached. As soon as the Council has come to a decision, one of the permanent members and one of the elders leave the platform and squat before the assembled villagers. They announce the decision and call for opinions. That is, each decision of the Council is followed by an immediate referendum to the general public. If the majority of the public approve, the decision is ratified, as it were, and becomes final. If there is a strong body of opinion in opposition to the Council ruling, the two Council members return to the platform and there the discussion begins all over again. Sometime later a slightly amended decision is reached, and the same procedure is followed of referring this to the general section of the meeting. If this is still not satisfactory, the Council will again take up the discussion.

About the functioning of the legal system in the village Harcourt gathered that they settled the disputes in the village before the court of their own and did not make any complaints before the civil authorities. While he calls the three chief officials as *gurus*, he goes on to narrate that on the day fixed for holding a court, the *Gooroos* of the temples came together, and sitting down called out 'Houroongoo-a' to collect the villagers. This call is repeated thrice in one hour. Whoever was absent when time was up was fined a *kutchā seer* of *kathoo* (buckwheat) and if he did not appear before night, this fine rose to eight *dawivas* (= *dabbua?*, = 2 *annas*) which went to the temple funds. The court now having been formally opened, the three *Gooroos* sat on an upper terrace, and a case being called up, the judges gave their opinions and delivered these to the public, who appear to have acted as a species of jury. If the audience approved of the decision, the same was acted upon; but if there were many dissentients, the arguments that were to be brought forward were listened to (Harcourt, 1870: 45). Except some minor variations the same system exists today.

Procedure for Appeal: The method of drawing the Council's attention to a dispute is fixed and formalized. The man with a grievance goes to the platform and there lights a fire in a special fireplace for this purpose. He sits there until one of the members of the Council happens to pass. On seeing the fire burning, it is the duty of the Council member to find out what the matter is and then either to call an immediate meeting of the Council or to arrange for one in a day or so. It is said that they feel ashamed to go to the judicial courts.

Appeal to Jamlu: Rosser says that as in all matters in the village, Jamlu is the final authority, and if any individual protests against a Council's decision, he can appeal to Jamlu and have the case decided by the god. This is done by an ordeal in which two young goats are used. *Pogaldars* bring two goats from among the herd and tie them to the two poles before the Narod. It is said that in a civil case, each side supplies a goat. In criminal cases, both goats are paid for out of the god's treasury. The younger *karmishth* grinds the roots of a local plant called *Bachhnag* or *vatas naph*, which is poisonous and places in the hind legs of the goats after piercing them. Both parties sit on their knees with heads down touching the ground before. The goat on whose side dies first loses the case.

Presently a slightly different method is followed. The *pujara* sprinkles water from a special pot belonging to the god over the back of each goat. Then all wait to see which goat will shiver first. The goat shivering first is held to belong to the loser in the dispute. The Council declares the decision of the case. A shroud cloth is placed on the head of the person who has lost the case. The winner is lifted on the shoulders of the persons of his side and taken to the seat of the god where he bows before the *devta* and the *Jestang*. Both the parties are called before the god, which is termed as *chhidra* and receive instructions that due to the nature of the decision in the present case they will have no enmity in the future. After this the winner takes the loser to his home and gives him treat.

Even beyond the long and arduous judicial process, people

believe that Jamlu punishes the culprits spontaneously by blindness, leprosy, madness, death, and a wide variety of minor ills. Any one giving a false oath or attempting to bribe a member of the Council is also punished. The Council members themselves are believed to be exposed to special threats. They are said to suffer for speedy decision or display of favouritism to relatives or friends. All regardless of rank, wealth, or social status generally must be treated with absolute equality or the wrath of the god may be incurred.

System of Penalty: It is said, practically all cases are settled by fines which average about two rupees. Any fine over five rupees is considered a severe punishment and is reserved for the more serious cases. The most serious offence of all in the village is said to be theft, particularly theft of any property belonging to the god. Cases of alleged theft are always tried immediately and never postponed. A thief is punished by a fine of not less than seven rupees, no matter how trivial the theft is, and is required to pay to the person robbed double the value of the theft and also to return the goods or pay the price. Theft from the god's treasury incurs complete and permanent ostracism, of which exile from the village is a natural corollary.

The most severe punishment the Council can inflict is that of boycott or ostracism. This involves the total withdrawal of social relations either permanently or for a period of time fixed by the Council. If a man is ordered to be ostracized, his whole family living in one house also suffers. No one will speak or have any social relations with any member of this household. They are not allowed to draw water from the springs inside the village, may not go to the communal water mills to grind their grain, may not attend meetings and feasts, and so on. Their social excommunication is complete. Any member of the village can be ostracized regardless of whether he holds an important political or ritual office. This boycott is a strong weapon in the hands of the Council, and is greatly feared by the villagers.

Besides exile, Prarthi tells that death sentences were also awarded in certain severe cases like theft from the *devta's* treasury.

It is said that such a person is taken to a particular place over a cliff deep below which flows the gushing torrent. The culprit is wrapped in a blanket tied with stones and is thrown into the crevice from where he cannot escape nor can he be retrieved.

The system of judicial administration of the community was so perfect that they had complete faith in it. They did not feel the need of any other forum. Lyall remarks that, "they rarely appear in our courts, in fact never." Impartial functioning of the machinery had attracted many aggrieved persons from far off places in Kullu seeking justice from Jamlu.

Visitors and the Laws of Malana: There are certain minor rules which can affect the visitors, more so for those coming from distant places. An unwary visitor to the village is likely to stray into a seemingly insignificant place, but notionally marked as holy. He is responsible for the crimes of polluting and trespassing. Commission of such offences are dealt with summarily by imposing the prescribed penalties measured in monetary terms, equivalents of the traditional levies in kind.

A mountaineer who happened to be in the village, records his experience of an encounter with a provision of the laws of Malana in the way that, "our stay in Malana village was enlivened by the imposition of a fine of one goat on our American member, who had inadvertently strayed from the path whilst pursuing a particularly elusive snapshot subject... Not to be intimidated we defied this ruling of the village committee... Notwithstanding their subsequent mutinous behaviour, these surly Malana men enabled us to establish Base Camp at 12800 feet." Obviously the system had no means of sanction against the defiant outsiders.

It appears that during the early British period bringing of leather within the village was not considered as an offence. Harcourt (1870) says that a large structure of square shape was deemed sacred where in no one was allowed to enter with leather shoes on. Similar notes have been left by others. Lyall says that European travellers had been mobbed, abused or fined on several occasions for having gone near the temple with boots on. Later

on the situation might have started changing. Sometime later Forbes writes, "the shole of lower village is sacred and shoes may not be worn there. Ignorance of this has probably been the cause of Europeans in former times being mobbed and stoned when they attempted to enter Malana, but we live in less lawless time (Forbes, 1911: 100-101). The laws are more severe on this issue in the present time. These days there are notices of fines displayed at some places.

The village is, in a way, a model of ancient Indian system of village self-government, except that the part of spiritual element may be found rarely elsewhere. Jamlu is the last authority in every matter in Malana related to any subject, spiritual or temporal. All difficult issues may be decided by Jamlu.

Other Officials of the Council

In order to facilitate them in carrying out their day-to-day functioning, the *jathere* appoint two groups of functionaries.

(a) **Pogaldar:** The body of *jathere* selects four officials called *pogaldar*, one from each *chug*, for the period of one to three years. They work for the Council. They collect information for the Council, work as night watchmen, identify culprits, execute the orders of the court, work like policemen by confiscating the articles from the defaulter culprits, carry messages, call the persons concerned with a particular case put up before the Council, etc. They receive one rupee from the treasury of the *devta*.

(b) **Birshu-ka-Bari:** The *jathere* appoint four members as *Birshu-ka-Bari* or *bari* of the *Birshu*, numbering four for a period of one year who assist the body of *baris* and serve to ignite fires, bring water and serve in cooking the meals in the gatherings in the village.

(c) **Bari:** Apart from all kinds of divisions and compositions of the village comprising about two hundred families described above, it is organized in another manner, which appears to have been one of the earliest attempts in this direction. There is a group of seventy-five families, which are identified permanently from the time immemorial, who select the group of five *baris*

each year. Out of the seventy-five families five families send five *baris*, one person from each family for one year. Each family sends the *bari* by turn and the turn of each family comes after a period of fifteen years. In this manner all the seventy-five families will send a worker each and no family will be left out. This number of seventy-five is maintained constant. In case a family goes extinct a new one is added from among the rest of the families. In the process of selection of this class of officials the division of the village into Behads, clans and *chugs* are ignored absolutely.

The most important function of the body of five *baris* is that they collect the revenue from various villages or *deoghars* which they received in tradition in kind. It involved a great amount of labour and time. The group visiting the villages in Kullu were known as *bari*. *Bari* is a term emanating from the ancient tradition of Malana.

(d) **Gathiya'nha:** Among the five *baris*, one is chosen as their chief called *Gathiya'nha*. At the same time he becomes chief of all the officials including the eleven members of the Village Council and others. The tenure of his office is one year.

(e) **Panihari:** Each *bari* chooses an official designated as *panihari* as his assistant who also goes on the *Kora/Phere* for annual round to the *deoghars* with *bari*. At Shangchar and at other places *panihar* is engaged in cleansing of the vessels used for cooking in the *mela*.

(f) **Kothyada:** There are four workers who serve at the *Sazavrata kothi*, the storehouse for grain. They issue from here the grains and other essential items for cooking for the visitors coming to the village and in the *mela*. At Shangchar *kothiyal*, whose office is hereditary, is responsible for collection of grains from the village and issue in the Phagli and other *melas* for cooking for the public.

Some Prominent Officials from the History of Malana

(a) **Sunni Bhotli:** Narender relates that the *gur* in a *bharcha*, his pronouncement, speaking in Kanashi, tells some stories of

its past. The eight officials and the audience watch and listen him while standing. Intermittently some of them say, *shah! shah!* At the end of the *bharcha* two historical officials of the village namely Sunni Bhotli and Shukru, are remembered for their commendable contributions. The audience shouts again in their honour *shah! shah!* At another place Narender also tells that Jamlu, after taking over the reign of Malana from Banasur, appointed Sunni Bhotli, a lady, as the first *karmishth*, which office was formerly held by Banasur himself. In the view of the deity she was intelligent and suitable for the office in which capacity she worked for twelve years. As her name suggests she belongs to Bhot community. She had to abdicate the office because she intended to get married. She is perhaps the only woman official known in the history of Malana.

There is a goddess named Bhotanti, a name akin to Bhotli, in Naggar having a temple of her own, she also attends the Dussehra festival. Bhotanti *devi* has temples and places in some other villages in Kullu.

Sunni Bhotli is a legendary name and is popular through the folksongs in Lahul, Chamba and Pangi. Nothing can be said about her relationship with her namesake in Malana.

(b) Shukru: A person named Shukru succeeded Sunni Bhotli and the two became immortal in the history of Malana.

Officials of Other Jamlus: The following are some officials connected with the Jamlus other than that of Malana, which are less known.

(c) Palsara: When the *devta* has to come out in dress, the *palsara* brings out the articles like the *mohra* of the *devta* from the *bhandar*.

(d) Kathiar: At places it stands for a storehouse where the grains on account of the *devta* is stored. At others it is a designation of the office-bearer who collects grains, contributed on account of the *devta* by the villagers, after the harvest season.

(e) Dhami: An official with the designation of *dhami* is found in Dayar. He purifies himself, brings water from a specified

source, cleanses the articles and the utensils of the *devta*. Then he cleanses or purifies the *devta* and dresses him. When the *rath* is on journey *dhami* travels together holding *chamwari* (whisker). *Dhami* is one of the three original families that inhabited Dayar and they hold the post of (*dhami*) by custom. This name for the office appears to be rare.

Some of the designations and functions of the officials of the *devtas* appear to have come down from the practice existing in the time of the Rajas which may be given as under:

(f) Palsara: He was incharge of the whole civil administration.

(g) Kothiyala: A store-keeper.

(h) Panjauli: He collected supplies for the royal kitchen, like milk, curds, wood, etc.

(i) Kayath: An accountant.

(j) Jata'l: Messenger and watchman.

(k) Seok: One who distributed the *begar* or forced labour. In Seraj he was called *bhatangroo*.

6

Women and Social Customs

Narodu, consort of Jamlu, is the symbol of women's power in Malana. The festival of *konha* (small) Phagli, largely a women's affair, is held in the month of *Chaitra*, in the compound of the temple of the *devi*, in her honour. The young unmarried girls used to dance and revelling, the whole month long. Presently, however, women and girls dance for five and six days respectively in the two festivals of Phagli. In another instance the story of the capable woman *karmishth*, Sunni Bhotli, reveals that once the Malana society was more liberal and egalitarian as even a woman could be chosen to hold the highest and the most responsible politico-administrative office. In the present context women cannot hold any office of the Council nor can they participate in the process of voting.

Marriage System

G.M. Young notes that men from one half of the village marry women from the other half only and vice versa. Some other observers have also reported similarly. At present it is told that a marriage partner can be chosen from any Behad or lineage subject to the condition that he or she is not an offspring of real uncle or father's brother. A clan is said to be counted from the relationship of bone called *haddi ka natha* instead of blood and is an exogamous group. Marriage with the son or daughter of father's sister and mother's brother (*mama*) is not prohibited.

The system of marriage in the Malana society is simple. The parents have restricted role in the matter of choice of the life-partner of their wards. Selection of the mate is the right of the boy and the girl. There are but few essential rituals or ceremonies connected with or are to be performed at the time of betrothal. An old entry remarks that *deota's* consent being merely asked and rupee one paid to the girl's father on the occasion. It is notable that this amount is merely a token, compared to the amount charged on other occasions for various purposes. As regards the celebration it is said that the groom goes to the bride's house, takes part in a simple meal after a religious ceremony and comes home with the bride. Rose states that they admittedly allow two brothers to possess a common wife, but not more than this.

Marriage outside Malana: Malana is an endogamous and exclusive society. Ordinarily it does not allow the girls of the village to marry outside, nor it brings brides from outside. Harcourt notes that they do not marry from outside. Narender Sharma says, the people of Malana marry within their village. They are not allowed by their god to marry from outside. Violation of the custom is punishable by Jamlu. A girl who has got herself married outside may be ostracized. Colin Rosser highlighting the fact says that village endogamy is an important feature in the social isolation of the village.

Besides all the restrictions some merital relationship exists with the other societies. It is told that the Malanis have marriage relationship with Rashol, Chhalal, Chauki, Baladi, etc. G.M. Young says that women from Rashol are taken in marriage to Malana when required. But this is very small in number. We gather that there are women from Malana one each at Jana, Jagatsukh, Naggar, Manikaran and Sultanpur. There may be some more, but the number is very small.

No clear reason is known for the continuation of this prohibition. Rose explains the reason for the custom, "this custom of intermarriage they allege to be due not to exclusiveness on their part, but to their inability to pay the consideration for



Fig. 13. A lady working on the hearth.

betrothal which is demanded by the parents of girls in the other parts of Kullu, while there is no demand for their own marriageable girls among the marrying men of Kullu". The two propositions in view of Rose may be true but partially. Rose himself advances another reason which is unique to Malana, the land of Jamlu. He says, "they are too much under the *deota's* protection to intermarry with any Kullu Kanets, though occasionally take wives from Rashol, not giving women to Rashol men in return."

Every Malani in dealing with an outsider always appears to exhibit in his behaviour the ideal of perpetual isolation from the rest of the world which constituted one of their cardinal social principles. They always seem to maintain a calculated distance from other societies, keeping themselves in a state of estrangement. In following this principle they have been aided greatly by their ideal geographical setting. They have even been charged with the inbreeding in a bid to maintaining the purity of their race. Colin Rosser maintains that Malana is not only physically and linguistically isolated; it is socially insulated from

outside contact. It may be presumed that in the matter of marriage also they follow the same ideals of isolation as they have been following in many other cases.

There could be other reasons also. A hypothetical situation may be presumed. In the first place, keeping in view the physical environment and the other conditions of living in Malana as it existed which was comparatively harsh, it would be difficult to imagine that many girls coming in marriage from outside could have been attracted to settle willingly and happily here after their marriage. On the other hand under the same conditions if the girls from Malana were allowed freely to marry outside, a difficult situation could have arisen, greatly disavouring the Malana boys. Therefore the custom has relevance.

Like as in most of such societies, superstitions don't fall in favour of women, "the woman here wears a *tilli* on the nose as a symbol of marriage. But when she goes before the *devta*, she has to put it off, because the *devta* does not like wearing of gold. The women are also not allowed to wear colourful dress, because the *devta* becomes angry." Presently these norms might have been relaxed greatly.

Divorce

Harcourt writes that husbands could divorce their wives by paying the customarily approved compensation of rupees forty to the affected party and once an agreement has been reached to this effect the promise could not be withdrawn. This amount was handed over in the open court and an amount of rupee one was deducted as fees of the court. The amount of payment provided appears to be prohibitive, but understandably an indispensable provision in the wider interest of the society. On a careful analysis of the whole process of the procedure, it appears that while it is quite easy and a cheap affair for a person to get married, untying the nuptial knot is manifold costly and cumbersome.

Remarriage

It is stated that "widows can take a man to live with him, but do not marry a second time." An informal feast is held to celebrate the occasion. Adultery is not, of course, severely punished, rupees twenty being the usual price paid for another man's wife, or rupees forty if there is enmity between the husband and the seducer. Narender writes, if a woman remarries, she sends twenty rupees for her former husband. If the former marriage was performed under a special rite of '*duliye baithna*', additional rupees twenty has to be sent. "If a wronged husband refuses to accept rupees twenty as damages for losing his wife the seducer can take refuge in the Nagwan or Thamian Behad. It is also said that a man who escapes into the Nagwan Behad or Thamian Behad cannot be arrested. If he does this he must be protected by the Ra deo who deducts rupees five from the fine of rupees twenty and credit it to the god's account; the husband being given only rupees fifteen instead of rupees twenty, because he has refused to act in accordance with rule" (Rose, 1883, III: 264). Notably for various kinds of lapses the amount of penalty for all dealings between Malana men themselves have been fixed, however, these rates can be enhanced when dealing with the outsiders.

Women's Dress

Women ordinarily wear a blanket called *gashang*. It is rolled round the body, tucked on the breast near the two sides of the shoulder with two needles, both tied through a chain, which are made of silver. At the waist it is tied with a *gacha* (waistband). Inside they wear a *chhou*, a small shirt. *Chhoa* is a shirt longer than *chhou*, reaching upto knees. A few women of the older generation wear white woollen cap similar to those of men with flap on about two third of it folded upwards and whole of the rim provided with a black cloth strip. Earlier, till about half a century ago, women wore white cap. The flap which was folded upwards was provided with muslin of brownish colour similar to that which was worn in Kinnaur in those days. These days



Fig. 14. A lady in traditional dress.

they ordinarily wear *thipu*, cloth piece of about a square yard, like those worn in Kullu.

Harcourt reports, "female wear a curious species of brown cowl (like a monk's) over the head, but this is not uncommon in one or two villages above Manikaran" (Harcourt, 1870: 41). He elaborates, "women wear round brown cap, and the plaids of sober grey, but here as in other villages, is to be seen the curious monk-like cowl of madder—brown cloth, that is carelessly adjusted across the head piece, and allowed to hang down the shoulders" (Harcourt, 1871: 95). This bag-like head-dress, called *googli*, is now seen worn in the festivals. Both men and women wear *khobe* (shoes of goat wool). Above it they wore *pauncha* (covering for their legs). In the *Phagli mela* during the dance, women wear a special dress.

Googli: During the ceremonial dance women wear the usual white cap over the head. Over it they wear a hood called *googli* made of a brownish-black woollen cloth. This may be prepared with a rectangle piece of cloth which may be folded once and then may be sewn at one edge. Then it is worn over the cap hanging backwards through the shoulders and reaching the waist on the back. A *googli* is about a foot broad and two feet long.

Ga'ssa or *gashang*: In the ceremonial dance a white woollen blanket with three black strips of about one and half inch broad on both ends is wrapped over the body. Some elderly women are seen wearing this cloth as their usual dress.

Khoh: A white cotton strip, waistband, for tying the *ga'ssa* at the waist.

Koti: Shirt, a recent word.

Suthanhi: Pyjama of the same cloth and of the same colour as that of the *googli*. It is simple and loose. It is not sewed with pieces at the centre like pyjama but made of single piece of cloth.

Khoba'g or *khobe*: Shoes of goat hair. This is worn during the ordinary times by both men and women. They also wear grass shoes, called *poola*, which covers half of the feet and a thread of *bhang* passing through between the thumb and the second finger keeps it holding to the foot. People weave woollen clothes themselves and they also sew their own clothes.

Men's Dress

Harcourt writes men wear coat called *khunthi* or *khanthi*, pyjama, shirt, cap and *khobe*. From the photograph of Gore (1895), men appear in two types of dresses. In one kind, they wear coat, cap and pyjama like those as seen today. In the other kind, men are seen keeping long hairs, and wearing *pugree* (turban) on the head, of white cotton cloth. They are wearing a blanket, wrapped round their chest, shoulders and waist. This dress is seen worn during the ceremonial occasions these days. This could have been the dress of the officials of the *devta*. The

pujari, the only official seen in formal dress, wears white woollen pyjama, a woollen gown which reaches the knees and tied with a waistband, a white cotton *pugree* and *khobe* or *poola* on the feet.

Adornments

Men are not seen wearing any kind of ornament. Women wear bracelets of metal and other materials. They adorn nose on both the sides, usually of silver, studded in the middle with a semi precious stone. They wear necklaces of pearl and beads. Earlier they used to wear necklaces of silver coins as was also seen in Kullu. The most adorned part of the body of a woman is the ears. They wear a number of rings numbering from around six to twelve or thirteen on each ear. These rings are moulded



from simple silver wires, like those of women in Kullu. But in Malana they have more elaborate designing. Sometimes these rings are partly braided into spirals. In addition to this a semi-circular but larger and thin flattened ring is worn either in the middle or at the lower end of the ear lobe. The surfaces of the two sides of the ring again have designing. At the lower end of the ear lobe they wear two bells hanging from a chain. The whole set is made of silver. These are all worn in the daily dress. Such an elaborately worked ear ornaments cannot be seen anywhere in the state. The credit must go to the highly skilled craftsmen of Malana.

During the dance in the Phagli, women wear the following ornaments:

Tokna'r: A necklace of silver coins. A silver chain is studded at intervals with silver coins of one rupee denomination of the British period. It also included coins of eight anna.

Kangonh: A bracelet, made of silver, quite heavy, worn one on each arm.

Khundits: The small ear rings.

Khundu: Slightly bigger rings in the ears.

Phulits or *balu*: The former term is local name and the latter a recent term from Kullu. This is an ornament worn on the sides of the nose.

Bahi: Bangles worn on the arms.

Pitsug: A silver chain called *boomanhi* in Kulluvi having two thick needles on each side for tying the *ga'ssa* on the two sides of chest. All these ornaments are made of silver.

Disposal of the Dead

The cremation ground, called *Hariya-sang*, is situated at the end of the village, less than a kilometre. Each *chug* is said to have had its own place. But presently Bairigeez, Shillu and Dharni have one common place, located at a more commanding place. There is a separate ground for the people of Rashol and one for the Harijans.

Lyall says that each class burns its dead separately in defined spots and the ashes are simply left there. A dead body is not considered as untouchable. The relatives are fed after the purification. Thereafter there is no ceremony. Rose notes that the Malana people only perform the *shradh* ceremonies on the last of the 16 days of the *Krishnapaksh* in *Asoj*.

Naming Ceremony

A child can be named by his father, mother, uncles, or maternal uncle.

Pas

This ceremony called *pas* (*mundan*), the first hair-cutting ceremony of a child, is an important ceremony in the community of Malana.

Fairs and Festivals

Malana, like many other villages in Kullu celebrates a number of *melas*, fairs and festivals, round the year, and inspite of its avowed aloofness enjoys overwhelming participation from the enthusiastic people from even distant parts of Kullu. Some prominent *devtas* of Kullu namely Shringa Rishi from Banjar, Diyari Thakur from Diyar, Bhaga Siddh from Pini, Jeev Narayan from Jana, Ajimal from Soyal and others used to participate in the fairs. Some devotees attending the *melas* make offerings in the form of a small silver model of a horse or elephant. These offerings are later melted down and shaped into larger statuettes of one or other animal. Rose notes that there were five elephants, eleven horses, one deer and an umbrella in the storehouse of the *devta* at his time. During all these days of rejoicing, Jamlu's men own full responsibility of taking care of the necessities of boarding and lodging of the participants. This is not only the responsibility of the public, but of the private households also. If anytime someone does not get food in the common kitchen, he can go to a private houses for food who will accept him gladly.

Fairs and Festivals: The chief fairs are Phagli held in the month of *Phagun*, Konhi Phagli in *Chait*, Sawan jatra in early *Bhadon*, Jetha Birshu in *Chait*, Kapu Saza and a Konha Birshu in *Baisakh*. Besides, there are many other festivals. It is said that there are some expiatory sacrifices held at the special order of

the *devta*, called *kais*. A great one was held in 1883. Birthday of Jamlu is held on full moon of *Aswin*.

Phagli

Two fairs of Phagli are held annually, Phagli and *Chhoti* (small) Phagli. This custom of two Phaglis exists in the *deoghars*. They also agree on dates and in the method of celebrations with that of Malana. The former, dedicated to Jamlu, is held in *Phagun* and the latter is held in honour of *devi* Narodu, in the month of *Chait*. In the villages other than those of *deoghars* only one Phagli is celebrated and its dates and method of celebration also differ.

Phagli is held on the first Friday of *Phagun*. A special feature of this festival is that tender plants of *jau* (barley) called *jaure* or *jari* are grown in the premises of Jamlu on his behalf and offered like flowers to the *devta* and others in the festival. The ritual starts from the point of sowing. Seeds of barley are grown in two small earthen pots about two weeks before the auspicious day at the small *dehri* of Jamlu, at Flauvarits. The work is carried out traditionally by the two *pujaris*. The *mela* is celebrated in the same premises of Jamlu and the most valuable metallic pot containing icons etc. is brought here and displayed to the viewers. G.M. Young specially made a trip in the month of March in 1911. Description of the central part of the enactment, as he could observe, is given here.

"In a short while the temple musicians came up at a quick step and in single file and arranged themselves below the rocks, the trumpeters on the left, and the drummers, of whom there were as many as twenty, on the right close to me. The drummers maintained an uninterrupted beat during the whole ceremony, the trumpeters blowing blasts from time to time. With them had arrived the *pujaris* and the *gur* and the eight elders of Malana. After a little waiting the *pujari* and the eight men went across to a tiny shrine not more than forty yards away in which the images had been placed overnight. From this building the senior *pujari* handed out to the elders several large and uncouth silver statues

of horses, elephants and deer, also a large silver umbrella of the kind used by Kullu *deotas*, and a smaller one which was afterwards fitted into the back of a very large silver stag. All these images are said to be offerings of pilgrims, or made by the Malana men from such offerings. The *pujari* himself carried a closely wrapped bundle containing the statuettes presented by Akbar. The little group then returned to the grove. About this time the snow was formally scrapped away from Jamlu's oblong stone in the ground. This is so much an essential part of the ceremony, the *kardar* told me afterwards, that once in living memory when there was an exceptionally early spring and no snow lay in Malana at the beginning of March, snow had to be brought from higher up the mountain and spread over the stone for the *pujaris* subsequently to clear away. A huge faggot was lighted evidently to keep the *pujaris* warm during the performance, for these two men now took off their ordinary clothes and put on very thin transparent white skirts falling straight from the waist and open at one side. They wore nothing else at all. The first *pujari* took a trident-shaped branch in his hand and with infinite solemnity walked slowly round and round the table-shaped stone, bowing himself to the earth and laying his trident along the ground at every step. This preliminary act of consecration was marked by a change in the beat of the drums to a solemn anapaestic measure. After walking several times round the stone in this manner, the *pujari* produced a censer containing leaves of the hill juniper, which he lighted and waved over the stone. All was now ready for the appearance of Akbar. The *pujari* stooped to the bundle which he had brought and swiftly took out a silver or gilt statuette about four inches high, apparently a naked figure of very primitive workmanship. He held it on the palm of his hand, his arm thrown out straight from his shoulder, and stood thus wildly and violently shuddering, an effect which must have been materially assisted by his very thin attire. The roll of the drums had by this time become terrific, the trumpeters blew their trumpets, and the Malana men raised a loud shout. The moment of the year was reached, Akbar had come to Malana and stood before Jamlu.

In trying to photograph the priest at this instant I realized that the snow was actually falling in accordance with the programme. Either Jamlu does control the weather or some one in charge of the ceremonies had been watching it more carefully than I. It was a small cloud, and the sky cleared again very shortly. The statue of Akbar was then placed on the table rock and the *pujari* did obeisance to it. From his bundle he produced twelve more very small images of horses and elephants, evidently the rest of Akbar's gift. These he grouped behind the statue handling them with much show of devotion and pressing them against his bowed forehead before he put them down one by one. Over Akbar and the attendant images he fixed the big silver umbrella and round them he placed all the large statues which had been carried up by the elders."

Presently it is said that the pot which is called '*peedhe*', which Young calls '*pir*', contains the (statues of) army of Akbar.

Thereafter the ladies dance in slow movement in customary ritualistic dress. The women sing a song of sixteen couplets twice. This song cannot be sung at any other occasion or outside the



Fig. 16. A woman in ritual dance dress.

sacred premises. Few people know its meaning except the singers. This and the one sung in *konha* Phagli are the only songs known to exist in the language of Kanashi. After sometime a group of young girls join in their usual dress. In between there is a dance of three masked men, called *tunda rakshas* (handicapped demon). The masks on their face are worn over a thick pad of green twigs. They dance holding arms of each other with a stick in one hand.

Jaure: G.M. Young tells that among the various structures existing in his time there was a house which was entered only on the occasion of one of the annual fairs and kept barred during the rest of the year. Within this building barley was sown fifteen days before that fair, so that the blanched shoots may be offered to the god at the fair. He further tells that this offering, called *Jari*, is made to other *devtas* as well as Jamlu, and the young shoots are worn by the men in their caps at most fairs. These young shoots of barley are yellow in colour because they are grown in the dark. This plant is used as flower in Kullu, Lahul and Kinnaur, specially in the winter.

Jaulai

Barley appears to have once formed an important cereal crop in the hills. A ritual for beginning the cutting of the crop of barley or may be the crops of the season, called *jaulai* is celebrated in village Dhaugi in Sainj valley in Kullu. There exist rituals for the beginning of sowing of crop and for cutting the crop of the season at many places in Malana, Lahul and Kullu. No one in the village can start such activities of their own will until the ritual is performed, otherwise the defaulter is penalised. All the residents of the village or cluster of villages have to move collectively.

In the ceremony of cutting the crop of barley called *Jaulai*, (*Jau* = barley; *lai* = ?) at Dhaugi, one day is fixed by the *devta*. It was *Jyeshtha* 16, i.e. June 8, in the year 2009. The villagers moved with the *devta* to the field of barley situated at about half a kilometre away from the village at about four o'clock in

the evening. The *devta* danced for a while and then he bent down to one side over the crop indicating to begin the operation of cutting the crop. Half a dozen women who were standing on the edge of the field each with a sickle in her hand immediately began the action. The women cut the crop and bound in bundles. A man heaped them into a load and then carrying it on his back danced along with the *devta* beside him. The ceremony was over after about two hours. This ceremony is held in Railla and some other places in the Sainj valley.

In the present case the ritual performed was symbolic, a sign of dwindling custom. All the crops of the season had been cut. A small patch of around ten square metres area of standing crop of barley was kept for the ritual. Earlier this ceremony might have been performed in the beginning of the harvesting season. Before going to the field one of the families served meal to all the villagers and visitors to the village. This responsibility is owned by some families in the village and each having its turn in sequence. It is said that earlier, *chilada* (cake of fermented barley like *dosa*) was served with honey or curd to the villagers for a whole month. Still earlier to this, *siddu* (dumplings of flour of barley) cooked in boiling water, was served.

Konhi Phagli

After the gap of about twenty to twenty-five days the other Phagli is held. On the first day of the Phagli, sheep is worshipped. In this mela *roat* (big cake) are prepared like those at Chhani. Some informers tell that the festival is said to be based on a legend of a person named Sukhu. We know about Sukhu from the legends about the founding of Malana. The *baris*, including the *pujari* and *kardar*, and selected workers perform a dance. They hold a sword each in their hand while dancing. Some salient features of this festival are: (1) Preparation of big cake called *roat*. It is called *roat* of *devi*. Every *chaakar* (volunteer) prepares two cakes each. It is taken at the temple of the *devi*, broken into pieces and are distributed to every house, to even the family of a single member, in the village. Special *roat* are

prepared for the Lohars. (2) Secondly, the dance of the women in their traditional dress and ornaments singing an old ritualistic song in their own language. (3) Distribution of parched *saryara*.

In this Phagli song of five couplets is sung twice. Traditionally *puja* of *devi* is held on the first Sunday of the white part of the month of *Chaitra*. Dance by the women is held and lasts for four to five days. Earlier in the month of *Chaitra*, from the first day of the month the unmarried girls used to gather for dancing in the compound of the *devi*'s temple and it lasted the whole month. On the *sankranti*, first of *Vaisakh* they feast the *baris*. On the same day the new *baris* are elected. The new *baris* are taken in the rooms of the *bhandar*. They are shown the symbols of the *devta* and are handed over to the new officials. Then they go in the treasury of the *devta*. This treasury of the *devta* is like a pit which is covered with a big stone-slab. Only the *bari* knows the treasure kept inside the treasury. For running the day-to-day expenditure there is another small treasury from where cash is taken out and expended as the need arises. These are handed over by the old officials to new officials very carefully.

Parched *saryara* grains are served on this day. This is not given in the big Phagli which is held in February. Most significant part of the drama is that the ladies who are dancing carry in their bosom of the blankets a large quantity of parched grains of *saryara* (once the staple food of Malana) and in the end they distribute it among the men sitting in semi-circle nearby. The manner of distribution is such that it resembles the scattering of seeds for sowing in the fields. This reminds us of one of the stories of founding of Malana.

Birthday of Jamlu

Birthday of Jamlu is celebrated on the full moon day of the month of *Maghshar*. The *devta* comes out on this day.

Bhautad

Bhautad is an ancient festival which appears to have been very important and exhibits the strength of Malana as against

the *deoghars*. It is now extinct since long but once it was celebrated on a very large scale. It is told that in the early time, there used to be played a game once in a year of throwing arrows on a mark made on a big tree of walnut which belonged to Jamlu. All men from the village came to participate in the game. Then after the game was over one sheep was brought per head of male in a house and each family of the *barah deoghars* also brought a sheep and then the feast was held. One can imagine the size of the gathering and the number of days for which the festival could have lasted even after granting some probable element of exaggeration.

Khod (walnut) appears to have occupied an important place in the culture of Kullu. There are large trees of walnut among the sacred groves in many villages. At Malana, Harcourt witnessed a large tree of walnut which at ten feet above the ground showed a girth close to thirty feet. Similarly Bruce pitched his camp 'under some big walnut trees between the two villages of Malana.' Today none of these trees are visible. The festival of Bhautad underlines the importance of walnut tree more emphatically. A *devta* named *khodu*, after this fruit, is propitiated in many villages who appears to be an old spirit but now ranking low in the sequence of several gods, but not to be ignored at all.

The days of the festivals in Malana appear to have been fixed according to the movement of the moon and the day of a week, rather than a date, in conjunction with the month. The Phagli is held on the first Friday of *Phagun* and Jamlu's birthday is held on the full moon day of *Maghshar*. Malana people sing songs on all occasions, in the fields, festivals, etc. in the language of Kullu and dance similarly.

Kahika

The important *mela* of Kahika, like that in Kullu, is held in the month of *Bhadon* at an interval not fixed as it is held triennially at Shirar. It depends on the desire of the god declared by his *gur*. Large number of people from Kullu attend this fair.

In Kullu there is a class of the society named *naud* whose role is seen only in the Kahika festival. In Malana also he plays the same role and he comes traditionally from Manikaran. As in all the Kahika ceremonies the *naud* is supposed to die and is brought to life again. It is supposed that he grants dispensation for the sins of the people and the ceremony perhaps is a survival of human sacrifice, like the Bhunda rite at Nirmand. An old description of the *mela* narrates that handmaiden (called Sita) is dedicated to Jamlu. On dedication to the god, the girl, who is four or five years old, receives a gift of a complete set of valuable ornaments from the shrine. She remains in her parents' house, getting clothes and ornaments at intervals. If she goes to Malana she is fed free. She does nothing in the way of worship of Jamlu. When she is 15 to 16 years old a new handmaiden is appointed in her place. She is supposed to be really a virgin while she is Jamlu's wife.

Kahika at Shirad

Kahika at Shirad and Naggar are celebrated at regular interval on a grand scale and are famous all over Kullu. In the *kahika* of Shirad four or five trunks of young trees are brought from the jungle of the *devta* with the traditional rites. The concerned *naud*, who has been specially invited by sending a messenger, helps in raising the four poles and then is formed into a canopy termed as *kahika*. He consecrates it by circumambulating round the temple and alongwith him the *naudan* (wife of the *naud*) moves dancing. Indecent acts can be performed and obscene languages may be used. The man holds in his hand a wooden symbol of male organ which he can touch anybody. Thereafter he is killed symbolically. Five arrows are shot, one towards each cardinal point and the fifth towards the heaven. With the first arrow he shows signs of becoming unconscious. With the last he falls down and is supposed to have become symbolically dead. He is then brought to consciousness after sometime through a *mantra*. This is called *naud marna* (killing of *naud*). On his rising, he is supposed to have reborn. Although no instance is known, it is told that if in case the *naud* is not able to rise to life

after the ritual, his wife *naudān*, can take all the *mohras* and clothes on the vehicle of the *devta*.

Naud ranks below that of *Zamindar* in the social ranking. In every fair of *Kahika* in *Kullu* *naud* performs a special act of ritual death and then is brought to life. While the male is assigned this role the woman plays the role of the spouse of the *devta*. His drama is the main attraction of the *mela*. This role is exclusive to this class.

Uchhab

The Gazetteers record that *uchhab* (feast) is held once in a month, and sometimes more which are attended mainly by the men from *Malana*.

Banha'h

This happens once in a year and the *devta* comes out on this day. The earth is worshipped on this day. From this day onwards activities concerning the crops of the summer season can be carried out. There is only one agricultural season here. These are like carrying manure to the field, ploughing, sowing of seed, etc. This happens on the first Tuesday of *Magh*. In fact it is told that no work on the field or any kind of work concerning the agricultural operation could be started until the *Konha Phagli* is celebrated.

Sala'had

At *Pulag*, this festival, related to the harvesting operations, is celebrated in the month of *Jeth*. *Sill* (ears of corn) are first offered to the *devta* and then the use of sickle is allowed, and cutting of grass can be started. The *pujari* gives a loud call. Then every household brings the ears of corn from their fields and hands it over to the *pujari* who then offers it to the *devta*. Similar practices exist in *Lahul* and *Kullu*.

Shawani Ja'ch

This fair starts from the *sankranti*, *saza*, the first of *Bhadrapad*.

and lasts for three days. People come for *chaakri* from different villages. In the evening of third or morning of the fourth they leave for Pini, the village of Bhaga Siddh, with similar purpose, where the same festival is held. Like Malana this village is not yet linked by motorable road.

Phagli at Chhani

One of the most important fairs of the village Chhani is Jetha Phagli, also known as Jaure Phagli or Narol Phagli. Fifteen days before Phagli, seeds of barley are sown in a wooden box, in the upper storey of the *bhandar*. Seven days before the Phagli, the *pujari* goes to worship the *devi*. He holds a plate containing water, *jaure*, smaller incense-holder, etc. and goes to the temple of the *devi* with his eyes covered with a cloth with the assistance of the *karmishth*. Then after removing the cover of the eyes, he comes to the *bhandar* and sits in the lower storey for the remaining period till the day of the festival. During this period he takes meal for one time. He does not touch *harijan* and women. On the day of the festival the sacred articles like elephants, deer, horses are displayed.

Konhi Phagli also called as *roat-ri-phagli* (Phagli of big cake) is celebrated on *saza*, the first of *Chaitra*. All the women of the villages nearby prepare *roat*. *Roat* is made from rice flour. It is cooked in ghee and is thicker and bigger than that of the cake made of maize flour at home.

Festivals at Shangchar

Jetha Birshu is held in honour of Renuka on the first day of *Chaitra*. *Roat* of wheat or rice or *deval* (mixture of the two) are prepared on this day and offered to the *devi*. This is then distributed among the women. Cooked rice is also served in the *mela*. The daughters married away come home on this day. One *roat* is taken from each house, sometimes more. New year day, lasting for two days, is celebrated in *Vaisakh*. Jamlu's birthday is celebrated on this day. In the month of *Bhadon* the festival of Dhilli is held in which herbs are prepared and are

used for fermentation of a soft drink called *soor* in the month of *Sawan*. *Soor* prepared from the flour of buckwheat is slightly thick and is considered as sacred in Kullu and Lahul. *Konha Birshu* is held in *Baisakh*. *Phagli* is held for seven days.

At Shauran only the big *Phagli* is celebrated in which it is said that Akbar is propitiated. The *dehri* of *devi* at Jagatsukh and Sharan are small in which a man cannot go. At Malana, Chhani, Koodung, etc. the temples are larger in which a man can enter and here the *pujari* goes inside once in a year and then the *Phagli* starts. A mask of the *devi* is said to have been kept in some of these temples but none has seen, not even the *pujari*, who goes into the temple with his eyes covered once in a year. According to one informant *Phagli* is considered the festival of Renuka and not that of Narodu.

Howell gathers that the people of Malana drank *gling* (beer of barley). This article has now vanished from the culture of Malana.

8

Economic Resources

About the economic status of the inhabitants of Malana, the informed and knowledgeable quarters hold a mixed opinion. Some of them inform that the standard of living of the residents of Malana is below that of the average Kullu villager. Colin Rosser was distressed to see them in abject poverty. The point may be illustrated from an incident a visitor had experienced but with one of the marginal families. Murphy, a European adventurer, had to spend a night with a family who did not have even one extra bed for the guest. He relates, "admittedly the question of bedding did pose a minor problem; the family had none to spare and any blankets lent me from a 'caste' house (sic) would be so contaminated by my body that their owners could never use them again. Yet the solution seemed simple to me—a heap of hay in the corner—and the real complication was caused by my host's indignation at the idea of his guest being bedded down like an animal. However, he was at last induced to agree to this scheme by my emphatic assurance that all the Irish people habitually sleep in hay" (Murphy, 1969: 19-20). Yet Gore, who visited towards the end of the 19th century, found the people prosperous. Taking in view the general condition of the village, Malana looks economically poorer in many ways in comparison to Kullu.

The economic system of Malana was much different from those of the villages around it. The society followed an ideal of

isolation and the socio-economic institutions perhaps must be characterized by the same unique social philosophy. Another prominent feature of the economy was that it depended largely on external sources. Moreover it is largely a macro enterprise. Income was earned collectively and credited into the account of the community or Jamlu. Thus the earnings of the people of Malana may be divided into two broad categories: Firstly, the income from the household activities which is generally an individual enterprise and earned within the village, and secondly the income generated by the community, mostly from outside the village.

The main sources of household income of the families of Malana traditionally constituted agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry. Besides they had other minor sources of income.

Household Income

Agriculture

Malana is situated at a height on the mountain slope and the climate is cold. Land is scarce and the holdings are small. Average land holding comes to 0.30 ha per head (1991). Only one crop can be obtained in a year. Therefore it is difficult to depend solely on land-based economy. They have little cultivable land near the village. Moreover the land is scattered and located at more than one place, at a distance from the village at heights where they have constructed *shain* or *doghri*.

In the summer some of the family members alongwith the cattle shift to *doghri* where they graze their cattle, sheep and goats and remain there till the agricultural operations are over and the crops have been harvested and gathered. The houses there are fully provided with necessary provisions like hay, fuelwood and ration. According to the size of the family each household owns more than one, even upto four, such houses at different places. The clusters look like other settlements. Bheling and Thoshku are situated on the western side of the village. Mauzig is situated in the north-east but on the same side of the

river on which Malana is situated. Others are on the left bank of the river named: Thepaur, Ragnha'tsi, Vaichin and Nerang.

All cultivation is done under rainfed conditions, although at places they have sources of water. Rice and maize do not ripen under the climatic conditions of Malana, therefore they are not cultivated. Production is insufficient to meet the demand of the residents. The general impression carried in the Beas valley about Malana revealed that ploughing with bullock is prohibited and grain is scarce in Malana.

They sowed traditionally buckwheat, wheat, *saryara*, *rajmash* (a pulse), barley, pumpkin and potato. Crops are sown in the months of March and April and are harvested in September and October. The crops grown are coarse and of inferior quality but very rich in nutrition. It is not certain whether it is a different variety, or an antiquated variety, as the grains, as well as the ear, of wheat in Malana are usually reddish in colour, and in size they are smaller, almost half of that of normal.

The Malanis used to supplement their food supply by bartering ghee, wool, honey, game birds and forest products like herbs, and *shikar* goods too, in various Kullu villages for rice, maize, rock salt, and iron for tools. In these transactions, says Rosser, the Malanis dislike taking currency and insist on their traditional barter rates even when these rates are unfavourable to them. Apart from these economic transactions, the Malanis stay firmly in their mountain fastness, interested only in themselves, and brooking no interference whatsoever from outside.

We notice some primitive features in the agricultural technology of Malana. They don't use animal power like bullocks and ponies, although there were 22 bullocks in 1991 in the village. Their implements are simple. Instead of plough they employ two *kudals* (hand hoe). Holding one each in both the hands they break the soil for cultivating crops. Thrashing of the crops too is done manually by means of sticks. In fact all the agricultural operations are done manually and the animal power is not employed. Consequently the agricultural economy, rather the whole economy, show heavy dependence on the other sectors

viz. animal husbandry and forestry.

Malana has great scope for development in the agricultural sector. Introduction of animal and mechanical power and energy sources like electricity and oil could bring about some improvements not only in agriculture but also in various other sectors of economy of the village. The fields are cultivated in the natural slope which has adverse effect on the quality of the soil as the surface is being eroded continuously. Landscape could be improved by providing terracing. In the matter of crops they require change and introduction of improved seeds. The area is also suitable for apple and other fruit crops and vegetable production. It is said that around the eighties of the last century, some fruit plants were supplied to the villagers but they have dried up. Presently people have begun showing understanding for the economic importance of the fruit crops.

Animal Husbandry

People breed cows, sheep and goats in large numbers forming a subsidiary occupation. Each house kept about 50-60 sheep and goats on an average, and some upto 150. Ponies are not used for carriage of agricultural produce and essential commodities, but are taken with the herds of sheep to the pastures for carrying their domestic goods as the Gaddi shepherds do. No fowl is reared which perhaps is a restricted object. They rear cows of local breed the yield of milk from which is very low. The number of animals reared per head in 1991 was 8.6. There were 5231 sheep and goats in the village in the same year which had increased from 2953 in 1981. During the summer they take the flocks of their sheep and goats to the pastures near their own village. An old report says that, "There are some good sheep runs or *nighaars* in the valley which are held by the Malana men or by the *zamindars* of villages paying revenue to the *deo*." In the winter they take their flocks to Bilaspur, Sirmour, Tatta Pani (Shimla district), Bhajji, Sunni, Suket and Mandi. Sometimes the whole family went with the sheep and lived there for even upto about six months. They get



Fig. 17. A typical Malani house with livestock in the ground floor.

wool, meat, hide and milk from the animals. In the winter they work on the wool and they meet most of their requirement of wool from their own produce.

Lyall says that they had been bartering their sheep and goats, and bye-products, for rice and other kinds of agricultural produce at annual fair at Naggar and also at other places. Animal husbandry depends largely on the forests, exploiting the abundant natural resources. However for the six to seven thousand sheep and goats and cattle there is no veterinary facility available in the village.

Forestry

The wide expanse of the mountain slopes were exploited economically in many ways: for collection of fuelwood, timber, fodder, grazing of sheep, goat and cattle, and collection of herbal and medicinal plants, rearing of honey bees, hunting, etc. Honey is produced in sizeable quantity and is of good quality. Thus the vast forests in the steep slopes, although not much suitable for cultivation, were exploited beneficially.



Fig. 18. Intensive utilization of forest resources.

The people collect herbs when they are free from farming activities. Verma writes that in 1980 *dhoop*, *karru*, *pateesh* and *guchhi* of the quantity amounting to 12800, 800, 100 and 100 kilograms, respectively, which could fetch income at the price of rupees 7, 12, 120 and 500 per kilogram respectively, were extracted.

A visitor to the village, in 1969, took the impression of the income derived by the people from the sector in the words, "the Malanis collect the roots of a plant used to make incense and many medicinal herbs which they sell or barter, but most of their cash comes from hunting the musk-deer. This animal abounds here—though being very fast and elusive it is extremely difficult to shoot. I was told today that one musk is worth rupees 1000 and that so far this season the Malanis have shot 35 male deers."

Household Industry

Malana produces wool in sufficient quantity to meet its requirements. Most of the farmers spin and weave clothes themselves for their own consumption. There are also two or

three families of artisan class, one weaver and the other a smith who works on iron and manufactures silver ornaments.

The people have recently entered the sectors of transport and services after the construction of the road by getting some employment and petty contracts for supplementary works with the hydro-electricity power project. Due to lack of education, employment in the government service is negligible.

Per Capita Income

An independent study has estimated in 1991 the per capita income of the village from various sources as under (Singh and Gulati, 1996: 20):

Source	Income (per capita per annum)
Agricultural crops	Rs. 2000
Animal husbandry	Rs. 7457
Forest land sources	Rs. 5094
Subsidiary enterprises	Rs. 3909
Total gross income	Rs. 18460
Total Net Income	Rs. 5699
Per capita income	Rs. 3291
Per capita expenditure	Rs. 2063

The above data reveals that only about eleven percent of the household income comes from the farmland and the largest share, forty percent, comes from animal husbandry. The share of the forest based activities is 28 percent and that of subsidiary activities, which has been explained by the authors to include tourism, spinning and weaving, is 21 percent. Animal husbandry in turn depends largely on forests. The figure probably does not include the income of the community on account of Jamlu collected from its *deoghars* and a few other minor heads.

One hydro-electric project is under construction and part of the project has already been completed. It has benefitted the village in some ways. They have been instrumental in bringing

the road-head very close to the village. Some of the young men from the village have got employment in the project and some others have benefitted indirectly. It has given a kind of stimulation to the village economy like transportation, etc. and some other kinds of activities among the people.

Cooperative Income in the Account of Jamlu

The economic sphere of Malana expanded much beyond its geographical confines as it drew a substantial quantity of income from outside and this is the most peculiar aspect of its economy. The unique feature of the primitive economy has no parallel in any other society in the region. This is a cooperative venture and is expended as such. Various sources of income falling in this category may be enumerated as under:

1. **Offerings by the Devotees:** People had great faith in the power of Jamlu and they came from far off places to receive his blessings, for *pooch*—to ask questions and seek his guidance in many important matters. The devotees paid tributes, offerings, etc. to the *devta*.

2. **Kor:** The amount collected traditionally by the people of Malana of all kinds from the *deoghars* was known as *kor*. The term *kor* is not known well presently but it survives both in Malana and in some of the *deoghars*. This kind of income was derived from two or three major sources: Firstly, Jamlu owned land in the *deoghars* which were given on share basis and half of the produce was received by Jamlu of Malana.

Secondly, the Malanis visited the *deoghars* once or twice in a year on *kora/phere* (round), for collection of *kor* (revenue cess). At one place it was called *khalaut*. According to a well informed person who had been in charge of the collection of cess for Malana, the people paid *kor* from which one fourth went to the government and three-fourth to Malana. These amounted to 2, 3 or 4 *bhars* or more per house. These were measured even to the small amount of a *patha*. The Munshi gave the figure of gross amount of *muafi* to Jamlu in Kullu, outside Malana, at



Fig. 19. A typical hill-type building in Malana.

rupees 1400 per annum which was a huge sum.

Besides there were villages wholly assigned to it. Rose notes, "in Rashol there is a large *muafi* of Jamlu." Lyall reports that Poling (Pulag), Ramsam (Rumsu), Shauran, Baoli, Kirian Ber and Karoji (Karjan), "nearly all have lands which pay rent to the Malana *deo*." After the introduction of the Tenancy Act, the tillers became the owners and the *devta*, like others, has been rendered landless. The above mentioned ex-Munshi of Malana belonging to a village in Kullu tells that the villages of Shauran, Rumsu, Pulag, Hallan, Naggar, Jari, Chauki, Baladdi, Bhanara, Shatauna, Rashol, etc. were held by Jamlu of Malana and the only land freshly broken on the government wasteland were owned privately by the people.

In this regard Lyall says that although the Malana men are illiterate yet they keep accounts from their memory. "The Malana *karmishth* keeps Kulu accountants in Kulu villages where Jamlu has a *muafi* and these keep the rent rolls in the various *muafis*."

3. Other Collections: Besides the above they made collection from sporadic and voluntary offerings. The body of officials,



Fig. 20. A house in Malana.

when they go on rounds to collect revenue fees, etc., are known as *bari*. These constitute the *baris*, *kardars*, *gurs*, *pujaris*, and others like helpers and carriers. Lyall informs, "the *bari*, i.e. the band of office-bearers, pay separate and more frequent visits. The *bari* also makes rounds to the other Jamlu temples, when it comes, a goat is killed and a feast held, and some eight annas are paid as a tribute. The *zamindars* of all this part of the country commonly put aside a few *ser* of rice to give for the *bari* when it comes round. Some of them come with the *bari* as porters to carry the rents, which are paid in grain, back to Malana." Rose explains that, "some of the Malana men are detached in parties to visit the other shrines of Jamlu in Kulu, which are separate concerns from the Malana shrine. These parties get food free for a few days."

Visit of the Bari to the Deoghars: Groups of the officials of Jamlu and the villagers from Malana visit the *deoghars* periodically. One of the informants from Malana tells that the officials responsible for collection are: five *baris*, five *paniharis* and four *birshu ka bari*. Other officials and helpers as porters,

called *tiberia*, also accompany them. As they go in the field they divide themselves in smaller groups. The work is carried out generally between mid-January and mid-February. They come twice in a year in Kharal valley and Rashol.

At Koodung: At Koodung it is told that at least seven persons come who include *gur*, *pujari*, *jetha bari*, *karmishth*, and other workers of the *devta*. They come from Jagatsukh and from here they go to Majhach. First of all they come to Rumsu where they have a *bhandar* (store) where they keep the grains collected in *grahi*. From there they go to Jagatsukh, Koodung, Majhach, Burua, Shangchar, etc. The *bari* are welcomed by burning *dhoop* (incense). They are served meal for three times, first in the morning when they come from Jagatsukh, then in the evening and next morning when they leave for Majhach. They are offered a horse of silver of the weight equal to four *anna* coin on behalf of the *devta*. The village itself does not give any *grahi*. The Malanis did not collect *grahi* from Burua and Majhach. They made collections from Shangchar onwards. The villagers of Koodung made collections for themselves upwards from Badagran on the right side of Beas and Haripur on the left. It is because the people were poor here, so they say. Koodung was earlier near the river which was washed away in the flood. Then Koodung, Majhach and Palchan were settled.

At Shangchar: The *bari* come in *phera* once in a year in the month of *Posh* and stay one night. Fifteen to twenty-five persons consisting of *pujari* and others come at a time. Sometimes they are also accompanied by family members, women, daughters and children. The villagers do *grahi* (collection) and hand it over to the Malanis. People give grains according to their wish, one *patha* (a glass full) or so. In 2008 they came from Koodung. On the next day they received the message of fire accident in their village. The villagers arranged for vehicle and dropped them near their village in Malana. They came back after some time and took their collection. From here they go to Dephri and then to Badagran.

At Daya'r: The Malanis come in *phera* in the month of *Posh*,

once in a year. Seven or eight officials come and stay one night. Earlier they used to come about fifty. Then it was about 20-30. This year they were fifteen. The *kar-karinde* (workers) collected grains for the *devta*. They gave either paddy, rice, maize, *saryara*, wheat or barley measuring two *pathas*. Paddy went to *kothi*, for the public use. Others for the private use. First they go to Jana, Nathan and a bit further, then they come here. Daya'r is not included among the *deoghars*.

At Jana: At Jana it is said that about ten persons come and stay for two days. At places they have arrangement for stay in the *marh* in the village like Badagran where they are given rice and sheep. At others like Rumsu they are divided into *kheend*, among the villagers.

It appears that there had been substantial amount of collections through voluntary contributions but the quantity was not certain. The existing practice of collection is purely voluntary following the tradition. It is said that it is at the will of the people whether to give or not.

4. Winter Immigration: During the winter a number of members from each family including women and children visited the villages of *deoghars* and stayed there for about a month or more and during this period they received food free. Lyall writes, "the Ra deo, that is, all the Malana people, except a few men, old women and children, cross the pass in the end of *Magar* or beginning of *Poh*, and spend more than a month in these villages billeting themselves on every house." Some villages were perhaps bound to provide the service, as Lyall further says, "in the same way at other times the Ra deo visits for a few days Baladi and Bishna, two villages in *kothi* Kais, where it borders on Malana *Phati* which are held by the *deo*, and at other times the villages in Har Kandi, in Rai Gian Singh's *jagir*, which are assigned to it."

However it is said that, "the Ra deo only visits large villages which can support it. During these visits all the Malana men are feed free at the expense of their hosts, but no doubt their food is

considered in the accounts of the revenue taken with more or less accuracy."

5. *Chaakri*. Jamlu receives contributions in the form of *chaakri* (obligatory service) from the twelve *deoghars*. It is told that the people of Malana used to call five persons each from a *deoghar* for *chaakri*. People came from many villages more than the specified number of *deoghars*. Men come and work like a duty assigned to them. People went at least twice to give attendance in the court of Jamlu for *chaakri* from the villages of Shauran, Rumsu, Hallan, Chachogi, Jana, etc. in the months of August and February. Besides there are some special occasions when they are called upon to render services. Many came voluntarily and they felt happy in serving the god free.

6. *Autor* (heirless): In the village of Rumsu it is told that when a person died without any heir, all the goods belonging to the person were customarily transferred to Jamlu in Malana and only one article was retained in the village by the *pujari*. Perhaps this custom might have been prevalent in other *deoghars*. This perhaps formed one of the minor sources of income of the community.

Other Community Income

Another kind of income generated for the community comes from within the village.

(a) It is told that in Malana all the land was supposed to be owned by Jamlu and the Malanis considered themselves as tenants of the god. They are, however, considered of two classes, permanent (having all rights of sale, inheritance, etc.) and temporary (having these rights at the pleasure of the Council, and in return for special payments into the treasury). Collections were made from each house at the end of the crop season and pooled into the community store.

(b) Fines levied on the culprits charged in the disputes decided by the Council and other miscellaneous cases went into the account of the *devta*.

Items of Expenditure

Malana earned in collective account, at the same time it had created a number of heads for expenditure significantly on the account of community. As the people of Malana depended for the major part of their income on the villages around it, they showed reciprocal obligation and displayed extreme sense of collective responsibility towards them. A substantial share of this income is expended on account of the guests of the village. They have created a permanent infrastructure for the purpose.

One of the responsibilities of the community was the payment of land revenue to the government. During the British period Malana paid revenue of rupees 228 per annum at the rate of ten *anna* and four *pice* per acre for an area of 342 acres, as against rupees 9570 at the rate of two rupees, six *annas* and eight *pice* per acre for 3958 acres assessed for the whole *kothi* of Naggar, of which Malana was a part. This rate for Malana was the lowest in the whole of Kullu, which may be due to the low rate of productivity of its land. Malana also paid some other cesses, rates and fees.

There are a number of gatherings, fairs, festivals, etc. held in the village. The villagers dine collectively. People assemble from various parts of Kullu in large numbers and the community makes all arrangements for their food and stay. Lyall writes, "there are three great fairs—the big Phagri, the little Phagri, and the Sawan Jatra; these last seven days each, and are attended by many Kulu people, from considerable distances. Once a month, and sometimes more, there are *uchhabs* or feasts, which are attended mainly by the Malana men alone." Lyall further says that, "at the fairs (*melas*) held at Malana all comers are fed free as long as the fairs last. Any *sadh* or beggar who visits Malana gets food and a blanket if he wants it. Such visitors are very numerous owing to the difficulty of the roads."

Besides, there are regular visitors to the village who visit the village in good weather and come in large number. They are served either in the community centre or they are distributed to the individual families. Similarly *devtas* from the neighbouring

villages visited the village regularly and large number of people accompanied them. Arrangement for them is made similarly.

The Malana people have a permanent and abundant amount of arrangement for the purpose. A large amount of grains and other essential items are stored in the Sazavrata *kothi*. There are two *marhs* for lodging for the two different classes of the society, high and low. Four regular officials are chosen from among the residents who are attached to work in the *kothi* and also cook whenever required. If any surplus is left in the store the same may be distributed among themselves according to the fixed rules.

The other way of treating their guests, a regular stream of visitors who come in fairly large numbers but not as much as in the *melas*, is the method of *kheend* (distribution of visitors among the families in the village), as we have already seen.

9

Kanashi, the Language of Malana

The people of Malana speak a language of their own known as Kanashi or as we generally say Malani. Only the Malanis and none of the outsiders can speak and understand this language. With the people of Kullu they speak in Kulluvi. About their capability of learning and knowledge, Harcourt writes that when he visited the village in 1870 there was none among those with him who could speak or understand the language of Malana. But the Malanis "were able to converse with tolerable ease in the Kooloo language." Now they use Hindi also. It acted as one of the barriers in communication between the Malanis and the outsiders.

Study of Kanashi language began with Harcourt (1870) who gathered a cluster of vocabulary and appended in his well-known book on Kullu and Lahul. Diack similarly appended a list of words from Kanashi with equivalents from Tibetan, three dialects of Gaar, Rangloi and Pattan from Lahul and lastly Kinnauri. He found that Kanashi had affinities with the Kinnauri language (Daick, 1896: 100). He also informs that before him, F.C. Fanshawe published a number of specimens of Kanashi in *Panjab Notes and Queries* which were observed by W.H. Tribe and brought to notice of the fact that the specimens agreed very closely with the words of the Kinnauri dialect. The Gazetteer (1897) also holds that it possesses remarkable affinities with the Kinnauri talked in a portion of Rampur-Bushahar state on

the Satluj. Grahme Bailey, also a linguist, although has not given any study on Kanashi but he places it under the category of Tibeto-Himalayan dialects and says that it is spoken only in Malana and nowhere else (1908: Introduction, ii).

Colin Rosser states that this language differs basically from the dialect of Pahari spoken generally in Kullu. Kanashi has its own grammar, syntax and vocabulary, and is not understood by any Kullu villager other than the Malanis. The Malanis also speak Kulluvi—the Kullu dialect, and use this in their dealings with non-Malanis. No one in the village can read or write and, Kanashi is as yet unrecorded. This linguistic isolation of the Malanis can hardly be overemphasized since it is undoubtedly one of the most important features of the community. It automatically marks all non-Malanis as alien, and seems the prime factor in that “sense of belonging” which is so strong at Malana (Colin Rosser, 1960: 79). It is said that the Lohars, who constitute two families of about twenty members, were not allowed to speak Kanashi.

The language has entry in the great Linguistic Survey of India and the material containing two important specimens of the language for the Survey was collected by G.C.L. Howell. Grierson observed that, “Kanashi is apparently closely related to Kanawari, though it makes a less complex impression” (Grierson, 1908: 428). He places Kanashi under the western sub-group of Complex Pronominalised Languages of the Tibeto-Burman Himalayan group of the languages spoken by the inhabitants of the high Himalaya.

Many people have made varied assumptions about the nature of the language of Malana. One opinion is that “philologists claim to have found definite links between Malani, Magyar and Finnish, and that it is also allied—more understandably—to Pharsi” (Murphy, 1969: 12), but no evidence has been put forth in this regard. The language shows development of rich technical terms concerning its administrative, judicial and political system, original to their language, which have wide acceptance and usage in the neighbouring villages.

In the kinship terms they show less stress on the distinction between the genders and numbers. The normal features of the distinction between the gender and age are visible in the terms employed in respect of the elder brothers and sisters, but the same are not seen being observed for their younger counterparts. Below are given some samples:

Vocabulary of Kanashi Words

<i>English</i>	<i>Kanashi</i>
Elder brother	<i>Bha'-oo</i>
Elder sister	<i>Da'-yu</i>
Younger brother or sister	<i>Ba'-yats</i>
Father	<i>Ba'</i>
Grand daughter	<i>Pa'hats</i>
Mother	<i>Ya'</i>
Uncle (FB), younger	<i>Ba' phakuts</i>
Aunt (FS), younger	<i>Ya' phakuts</i>
Elder mother	<i>Ya' jethi</i>
Elder father	<i>Ba' jetha'</i>
Plate	<i>Pa'ta'l</i>
Kettle	<i>Deegats</i>
Bigger kettle for rice	<i>Lahpu</i>
Axe	<i>Ka'r</i>
Axe, small	<i>Tawar</i>
Adze	<i>Ba'zil</i>
Plough	<i>Hall</i>
Ox	<i>Rad</i>
Mutton	<i>Sha'</i>
Mutton, large	<i>Sha'brhi</i>
Boy, boys	<i>Chhakats</i>
Girl, girls	<i>Chimets</i>
Wheat	<i>Jhand</i>
Barley	<i>Chahg</i>

English

Paddy
 Rice (uncooked)
 Rice (cooked)
 Fire
 Fire-wood
 Water
 Rain
 Ice
 Stone
 Grass
 Field
 Wool
 Wood
 Milk
 Butter
 Honey
 Salt
 Mother
 Father
 Daughter
 Woman
 Man
 Son
 Wife
 Thou
 I
 Mine
 Yours
 Yes
 No or Not
 Beneath
 Door
 Iron

Kanashi

Jel
 Laar
 Phool
 Meeh
 Shing
 Tee
 Jah
 Chous
 Pan
 Cheeh
 Sho
 Cham
 Shing
 Kheerang
 Boohur
 Was
 Chhah
 Ya'
 Ba'
 Tsime
 Chhetsh
 Marad, Marsang
 Chhah
 Chhes
 Ka
 Goo
 Aka
 Kanka
 Hoe
 Mae
 Yen
 Pitang
 Ra'nha'

<i>English</i>	<i>Kanashi</i>
Tripod	<i>Sha'stna'</i>
Clothes	<i>Gasa</i>
Necklace	<i>Kortheega</i>
Stone	<i>Gatta'</i>
Hair	<i>Karah</i>
Ear	<i>Raoo or Rad</i>
Cheek	<i>Peeng</i>
Nose	<i>Tanh</i>
Mouth	<i>Khukang</i>
Tongue	<i>Lae</i>
Tooth	<i>Gar</i>
Eye	<i>Meega</i>
Neck	<i>Moothung</i>
Breast	<i>Shahan</i>
Foot	<i>Thurla</i>
Hand	<i>Talang</i>
Finger	<i>Parad</i>
Morning	<i>Soham</i>
Evening	<i>Uberang</i>
Darkness	<i>Niharas</i>
Day	<i>Dyaree</i>
Forest	<i>Reeyas</i>
Earth	<i>Dhart</i>
Ghee	<i>Mar</i>
Clouds	<i>Joosangee</i>
Rainy season	<i>Saul</i>
Year	<i>Teeling</i>
Cold	<i>Liskee</i>
Dirty	<i>Juheh</i>
White	<i>Chhog</i>
Black	<i>Bok</i>
Fear	<i>Bho</i>
Chilada (cake of buckwheat)	<i>Lua'r</i>

English

Hill
 River
 House
 Water
 Young goat
 Cow
 Bullock
 Sheep
 Lamb
 Goat
 Cow
 Ox
 Young bull
 Young cow
 Sheep
 Dog
 Cat
 Bear
 Near
 Distant
 Nearby
 Sacrifice
 Cold
 Warm
 Walk
 Give
 Eat
 Drink
 Sit
 Stand up
 Come
 One
 Two

Kanashi

Dhog
 Nhingna
 Kim
 Tee
 Matchh
 Haj
 Rahad (rad)
 Khas
 Khatch
 Bokar
 Hooch
 Rahad
 Shakras
 Shakreech
 Khas
 Koe
 Booraree
 Hom
 Ned
 Door
 Thoshku
 Va'rna'
 Khatkek
 Jog
 Por
 Rantu
 Zang
 Toon
 Nashing
 Aching
 Jar, Jo
 Eed
 Nyish

English	Kanashi
Three	Shoo
Four	Poo
Five	Nga
Twenty	Beeh
One hundred	Nga beeha

Note: After six they count like that in Kulluvi or Hindi.

For the ordinal system, it says *da'vari phet'e nyish*, after one, two.

Sentences: Below are given some samples of sentences from Kanashi.

He is going — *Doo bok*

They are going — *Doo bok*

I read here (famine and masculine) — *Goo jo podòtak*

What is your name? — *Kan ka' na'm chhu-ge*

From where are you coming — *Amche boro-ken*

The road is very bad — *Om bada kharab to*

It is raining — *Ja' lak*

I go — *Goo bong-tak*

I went — *Goo bo-gek*

I will go — *Na'p bog-tang*

We will go — *Nee sab bog-tag*

Red horse runs — *Lal ghodòà t'hora ranta*

What is that? — *Noo dhoye to*

I read (past) — *Goo padò-gek*

I read for myself (past) — *A nu ta'-ees padò-geek*

This is my book — *Aa-ka' kutab-to*

I live in house — *Ki va' nashi tak*

I live on other side of the river — *De rang na-shing*

I took dinner — *Goo biyali za'-gek*

I take dinner — *Zab biyali za-tam*

I will take dinner — *Goo biyali za-tak*

I drank water — *Goo ti too-bek*

I drink water. I will drink water — *Goo ti tung-tak*

All these things were told by Masi Gori — *Sab batab Masi Gori raik*

Take photo — *Photo kadoh*

Joginder's mother — *Joginder ka' yah*

There are four boys and four girls — *Poo chhang tosh. Poo tsimed tosh*

Where are you going? — *Ham boke-non?*

Why are you going? — *Kho-ye-be ke no-nhe?*

When will you go? — *Chha-ba bo-ke nonhe?*

When will you come? — *Chha-ba' no-nhe? Bro-ke nonhe?*

How many persons went? — *Ta'r me bo-ke no-nhe*

I will not eat — *Goo ma-za-gu*

What is the time? — *Chhu-ge time shu-ge*

Boy walks fast — *Chhong-tsa jaldi bog-tash*

Horse runs fast — *Ghodda te-ge daud-keg*

Milk is sour — *Keerang surag dekh*

Joginder went from home to the field — *Joginder keema'ts shova' bog*

Cake (roti) was given to Joginder — *Jogindrus ao-ta ke-nah*

I am at home — *Jo ki-ma' to-tak*

Joginder's house — *Joginder ka' keem*

From where are you coming? — *Ham-che bro-keng*

Tomorrow we will go to Jari — *Na't Jori bong-tang*

I go to read — *Goo padoham bong-tak*

I read here — *Goo jo podohat*

We read here — *Nih jo padòh thang*
 I gave book to Ram — *Gu Ramuz kitab ranhmek*
 This house was built by Ram — *Nu Keem ramush sa'nmug*
 He went from home to bazaar — *Gu keema'z baza'r bokek*
 This is my house — *Nu keem aka' to*
 The boy lives in the house — *Chhah keema' nashivatah*
 I go to Shimla from home in the winter — *Gu sardi-nga*
 Malanhingz Shimla bongtak
 I gave a book to Joginder — *Gu Joginderaz ruz kitab ranhmik*
 I cut vegetable with knife — *Gu Chhurits bazi katemik*
 My elder brother prepared cake for me — *Bha'oosh angaz*
 hodòà shanhmuh
 Today we have two guests in our home — *Thi angadi nisam*
 pahunh gah tosh
 His sister has been married — *Du ka rinhzu kah biyang ha'shig*
 I killed a deer — *Gu horinhip sa' nmek*
 Dog died — *Kutta sheeg*
 The boy was going — *Chhah bokuta*
 Women were going — *Bet'adòì gah bokutash*
 I was going — *Gu bogtag*
 He runs faster than me — *Du akaneez t'horì gah rata*
 Who runs fastest among all — *Du sab kangiz t'horò gah rata*
 We two write — *Nee mis likhyatang*
 Horse runs fast — *Ghodòà' tege dande-kel*

10

Origin of Jamlu: The Ruling Spirit of Malana

The story of origin of Jamlu, the god, the ruling spirit of Malana, is narrated in a number of legends existing in Kullu. A document in Urdu by an Anonymous author relating the story has been published in Hindi recently (Annexure I). Its importance lies in the fact that this is the earliest (c. 1924) written material available locally on the subject of Jamlu and Malana.

The author appears to consolidate some of the discrete stories extant in the local oral traditions, besides giving it some new directions and dimensions. The story may be summarized here. Jamdagni *alias* Jamlu went to China and made friendship with the king of China. From there he came to Mansarovar and then to Hansa, a village in Spiti, and stayed there for sometime. At that time Dodu Talani and Bhanu Chalani, two persons from Hamta, a village in Kullu, had come in Spiti for purchasing salt. There they met a *sadhu* who accompanied them on their return journey. On reaching home, they prepared a place at Jhumri for the settlement of the *sadhu*.

The *sadhu* sat there for twelve years in meditation and there even the birds had made their nests around him. The people brought offerings for him and a great heap of wealth accumulated near him. At that time there were seven villages in Hamta. Dodu and Bhanu then again went to Spiti on their

usual trip. Upon the departure of the two, the greedy residents of the seven villages and the Thakurs assembled and conspired to snatch all the wealth from the *sadhu*. They expelled him and distributed the wealth among themselves. The *sadhu* went elsewhere hiding himself. The wives of the two traders, however, kept the wealth received in their share aside and worshipped the *sadhu* everyday. The *sadhu* caused affliction of a skin disease among the people and as a result all the residents of the seven villages were decimated, except the wives of the two traders. Their act of worship of the *sadhu* saved them from the disaster.

When the two traders returned they heard the complete story from their wives. Then the two went in search of the *sadhu* whom they found at a place named Nagauni, a wild place near Jagatsukh. They greeted the *sadhu* and requested him to come and stay with them. He declined to accede to their request, rather he told them that he will raise a *pindi* (stone block) as a symbol of his presence, which they should worship regularly, and he himself will leave for elsewhere. Then he came to a place named Sukhu-Sauh and remained there for some days. The *Athara karadu* came here to see the *sadhu* who offered shares from the offerings of the *yajna*. After taking a long circumventing journey through Delhi and Madhuvan, Jamdagni *Rishi* returned to Hamta. He told Dodu and Bhanu to prepare his *mohra*, and said, 'I will disappear'. Dodu and Bhanu prepared his *mohra*.

Sukhu and Khukhu, the sons of Dodu and Bhanu, respectively, went on a hunting trip to Chanderkhani. In the night the two saw a dream. The *devta* told them to sow parched *saryara* (amaranth). In the night Sukhu woke up, sowed *saryara* and again went to sleep. In the morning the two were surprised to see that the seeds they had sown in the night had grown to a fully ripened crop. They thought it was due to the kindness of *devta* Jamlu. They decided that now *devta* Jamlu should be brought from Hamta and if Jamlu is not found, his symbol should be brought by stealing. They brought a *khandu* (sword) and a horse from Hamta, and also their own children. When the two reached village Shuru, they met a young dumb man of



Fig. 21. Temple of Jamlu at Prini:
The worship place of devotees from Spiti.

Damkhari clan, who became possessed of a spirit. He said in clear words 'don't take away my symbol. Take it back to Hamta, I will come with you myself. I will stay with you as I did with Dodu and Bhanu.' They took back the *nishan* (symbol) to Hamta and returned to Chanderkhani. *Devta* Jamlu appeared before these two men and told them to come to Malana. He instructed them to construct a temple for Renuka at Malana. They did as were advised and constructed a temple for *devta* Jamlu also. Thus *devta* Jamlu also appeared in Malana. At Hamta there started living the other offsprings of Dodu and Bhanu and at Malana those of Sukhu and Khukhu. From Malana Jamlu went to twelve places. From this story developed a saying namely '*Jetha Hamta, Konha Malana*,' which means 'the elder at Hamta and the younger at Malana', which is very famous throughout Kullu. This implies that the elder Jamlu is settled at Hamta and the younger one at Malana. It is a matter of contention between the two villages or spirits of Prini and Malana as to which is *jetha*, senior.

Story from Koodung: Loodar Chand of village Koodung
tharahkardu.in

situated near Manali, the place of the thirteenth *deoghar*, narrates the story of origin of Jamlu. The source of the story appears to be the same as that of the one related above. It says, a *Phual* (shepherd) brought from Hansa, Spiti, a stone for sharpening the *ka't* (shearing scissors), concealed among the utensils which were bundled in a *chhika* or *trundi* (a bag of net made of rope) with the luggage over the back of a pony. The stone was left away at Chhika, about two-three kilometres behind Hamta village which got embedded in the earth and stood itself upright.

At Hamta there lived a dumb shepherd, who used to graze the cattle of the villagers in the jungle. One day one of the cows suddenly stopped yielding milk at home. The owner of the cow had suspicion over the shepherd, but he replied plainly that he did not know anything. The owner went himself to find out the truth. The shepherd was sitting at a distance looking for lice in his clothes. The owner followed the cow. He saw that when the cow reached near a stone, she milked unaided over it. Surprised, he returned home and narrated the scene to the villagers. They tried to break the stone, but it instead went deeper into the earth which amazed them more.

After sometime there appeared a *baba* (*sadhu*) who instructed the shepherd, 'offer me *puja*, and I will grant you benefits.' The shepherd came to the village, made a suitable place and then brought the stone. The *baba* came there once in the day, at the time of milking the cow in the morning. Whatever he predicted, happened to be true. In this manner several years had passed by.

It was the time of the rule of the Rajas. Then two brothers went to Spiti carrying the load of *begar* (free compulsory service to the state) of the Thakurs. Hamta then was called Sat-solahi (Hamta of seven villages, each inhabited by sixteen households or families) which is supposed to have been inhabited between Hamta pass and Prini.

The villagers counselled among themselves that this *baba* has amassed a large amount of wealth from the offerings. It has no use for him. They snatched the wealth and distributed among

themselves. They then spread a calf's hide over his seat. The people spent the booty but the two wives, who were related as *durani-jethani* (the wives of the younger brother and the elder brother) placed the goods in the *madha'm* (a beehive made of a hollowed piece of tree trunk) and offered the smoke of cowdung, as a sacred offering, regularly. When the two brothers came back, they saw from the distance that the Sat-solahi Hamta had been deserted. But they found that their wives were alive. The two again propitiated the *baba* who then appeared before them. The *baba* told that henceforth he will come only once and then he will speak through his *gur*.

The two brothers had offsprings, one had a dumb and the other a healthy son. Once the two boys went to Chanderkhani pass in the month of *Kati* (October) for extracting *kadu* (a herb) from the jungle there. They made their hearth under a rock, in an open cave. They were to return the next day, after the work was finished. But there was heavy snowfall during the night. The healthy brother was worried and was pondering while smoking tobacco. Meanwhile the dumb brother rose up and said that they should sow the handful of parched *saryara* grains left out with them. The healthy brother was surprised to see the dumb speaking. He shook him and asked to wake up. He found that he was still dumb. He considered it to be a devine act. As was suggested, he sowed the seeds in the vacant place in the cave itself. In the morning there was a ripened crop of *saryara* ready. They harvested the crop and thrashed on a *pattu* (blanket). They spent the whole winter there and found the harvest sufficient to last for the whole winter. In the month of March the healthy brother came back home and the other one went to Malana which was uninhabited. He found there a *Jachana* (*chudail*, she-devil). The two got married and had offsprings. They spoke the language of the mother. The dumb had once possession upon him of a *devta's* spirit. Thereafter the *devta* was propitiated and then the settlement grew to develop into a village.

Harcourt has gathered a different story. He tells that long time ago the great Paras Ram, after having defeated the adherents of the lunar race, visited the country now called Kullu and built

four villages named Tipri, Chansari, Darmot and Trambli, which exist till now. These were the only villages in Kullu at that time. The Pandavs after the termination of war between the Pandus and Kurus came to the Himalayan ranges about Malana. There they divided off whole of the surrounding territory among themselves. But Jamlu, a member of their group, proceeded to China and then after returning made his residence at Jagatsukh in the upper Beas valley. The family of sixteen fairies who already lived there found his presence unpleasant. They compelled him to leave the place for elsewhere. Jamlu then moved further on. With a propensity for lofty mountains, he took up his abode on the peaks of the Hamta pass. He placed his own statue in an inaccessible spot where it was next to impossible for any one to see. He once again took up his staff and arrived at Malana.

The seclusion of the place pleased his fastidious sense of propriety, and by an exercise of power, he created two boys, whom he reared and left before they were of an age to use their tongues. What became of Jamlu no one can say, but as time advanced, and the boys began to talk, they used a gibberish of their own, and the names they gave to every object became the names of the same for ever after; and then the people who came to Malana forgot their own speech and adopted that which they found in vogue. Hence the dissimilarity of languages (Harcourt, 1870: 46-48). The story is not heard elsewhere.

We hear a story from Jalphu Ram of village Kastha in Fojjal, which although is related with Jamlu is entirely unconcerned with the general trend of the stories extant about the origin of the *devta*. He tells, six goddesses and gods descended from the heaven. One of the *devis* was lost as the *rakshasas* carried her away. The other five, who were all siblings, viz. Vishnu, Devi Shakti, Jamlu, Hari Narayan and Narayan settled down at Dwada, Fojjal, Drad, Kathi and Meh respectively, all in the valley of Fojjal or Dobhi Nala. He further tells that there is a big ground above the village at a distance of about two hours' walk from Kathi where the villagers graze their sheep and cattle. There are seen the marks of feet of men and animals like sheep, cow,

horse, birds, etc. embossed on stones. The gods and goddesses descended here. The *devtas* go there at special occasions, but not at regular intervals. They killed the *Athara Thakurs* (the eighteen petty rulers) by pressing them under the boulders. Then only Shaura and Nahusha survived. The present population (of the valley of Fojjal) has descended from them. The term *Athara Thakurs* or *Athara Thakurai* (estate of thakurs) is a subject popular in the Shimla hills. In Kullu reference to this term is made also in Rashol in a story partly similar to that in Fojjal. Presently the Jamlu of Drad is known also as Hurang Mahadev and attends the Dussehra festival at Kullu.

Points emanating from the stories: The stories related above and others extant in the district delineating the various facets of the tradition of Jamlu highlight and deal with a few specific topics which are common to most of them.

Spiti: Jamlu either goes on pilgrimage of the countries situated towards the north-east of Kullu before his settlement or he has his origin from the said direction. In either case he must pass through Spiti and particularly Hansa. Thus these countries or regions or places may be enumerated as under: China, Tibet, Mansarovar, Spiti, Hansa village in Spiti, Hamta, Chanderkhani pass and lastly Malana. It is stated that the priest of Jamlu at Hamta-Prini speaks in his own language stating that the god came from Bhotant (Tibet), Cheen (China), or Pangu Padul, Mansarovar.

Among the scholars, and in all the traditions and legends, there is unanimity on the point that Jamlu came from the direction of north and on the way they came past Spiti. Rose gathers that Jamlu has temples in Spiti and the old Gazetteers record that Jamlu originally came from Spiti to Hamta, near Jagatsukh.

At Hansa, in Spiti, there is a temple dedicated to Da-lha Shag-tse whom the people both in Spiti and Kullu identify with Jamlu. The present image of the god holds a sword in the right hand and rides a horse. Da-lha is a guardian god of the household and every person when on journey seeks his protection. He is

propitiated throughout the high Himalaya.

Hamta: Hamta is the name of the pass between Kullu and Spiti and also that of a village. The village lies on the slope between the top of the pass and the base of the mountain. According to the legend prevalent in Koodung, and also among other people, there were seven villages and they were collectively known as Sat-solahi. There is presently a small old settlement of about half a dozen houses.

Slightly above the village there is a settlement of about fifteen families of Khampa nomadic settlers and this place is presently known as Sethang (*rtse-thang* = plain on the highland) which was settled about thirty years ago on the *nautor* (fresh broken land) provided by the government. People around it know it by the name of Sethan. Egerton writes it Chikkan, perhaps same as Chhika. There is also a small lake called Pandu Ropa, which has now dried up after the construction of tunnels and other structures underground for the project. No sheep herds go from Kullu to Spiti as there are but few pastures there. However, they go to Chandertal and towards Hamta above Sethan.

At the top of the mountain is situated the Indrakeel Peak and nearby towards the Bhuntar is Deo Tibba from where originates the Malana river. Some people indicate that Phooti Rooni, also called Sheda Guru, is located on the top of the Hamta pass. According to them, Phooti Rooni once formed an important trade mart, where the traders from Kullu, Lahul, Spiti, Kinnaur and Jangthang gathered like at other places in the region, and exchanged their goods. The place lost its identity some two centuries back.

Interestingly some of the facts referred to in the legends may be found followed in the living traditions of Malana or some other places. For example in one story it is told that two persons went from Hamta to Spiti and one of them was named Chalani. There lives a family at Prini named Chalani who are said to have immigrated from Spiti. This family is the hereditary *pujari* of Jamlu. It is held that even today some gods of Kullu like Girmal and Ajimal possess some articles of silk from China.

The legend of *saryara* is enacted in the most solemn manner annually in the famous fair of Phagli in Malana. The name Sukhu is retained in the nomenclature Sukhu-Sauh, at Hamta.

The temple of Jamlu at Hamta is situated at a lonely place, unlike those of Kullu located in the middle of the village. The existing structure is a small but beautifully built building of one storey, with a sanctum sanctorum of the same shape, in a jungle between the villages of Prini and Hamta. It is in the style of common Kullu temples having slanting slate roof. It has spacious large premises with other requisite structures and a large level ground which is called Sukhu-Sauh and is surrounded by an excellent grove of high rising thick deodar trees. In the compound before the temple there are stone pillars implanted on the ground similar to those on the Chanderkhani pass. The door frames are carved. There may be seen ropes spread in the compound of the temple from which streamers in different colours with imprints of Buddhist lamaistic *mantras* may be seen hanging from them. These are the works of the devotees from Spiti. This symbolizes the living tradition of its being a common worship place of the devotees from Spiti and Kullu who follow two different religions.

Kesar Singh Rawat tells that the old temple at Prini was known to the Spitians as that of Shag-tse. When the travellers lost their way under the thick layers of snow and strong sleet distracted them the *devta* guided them over the pass through streak of pugmarks of a bear. Mons went into the temple leaving their boots off but the Spitians entered the premises with shoes on. Although the *gur* of the *devta* is Mon, when he was in trance he spoke some words in Bhoti.

Athara Karadu: Although related rarely in the stories of Jamlu, it is told in the story of *Athara Karadu* that when Jamlu came past Hamta pass he was carrying a basket which contained the *mohras* of the *Athara Karadu*. At the summit of the Chanderkhani pass he opened the basket and the fierce wind immediately blew out all the *mohras* and scattered them to their present homes throughout Kullu.

Saryara (amaranth): The stories above narrate the event of sowing of *saryara* crop by the original settlers and its miraculous growth within a short period. *Saryara* once formed an important item of food of the people of Malana. They possess a great respect for the grain. This part of the story is enacted in the Phagli festival by the women who distribute the parched *saryara* grains to the gentlemen of the village attending the *mela*.

Bana: On reaching Malana, Jamlu had to face the opposition of its original ruler, Bana or Banasur, a powerful king of the Asur race. The people of Malana relate the name of the predecessor of Jamlu as Danu. Jamlu, defeating the *asur* made himself the ruler of the place. However the *asur* got promise from Jamlu for keeping a few of his vows. One of them is that his language should remain in use in this village. Molu Ram adds that in the commitments made by Jamlu to Banasur the *khanda* with which the *asur* fought was also retained. This victory of Jamlu over Banasur, says Surat Thakur, is celebrated annually in the fair named Kapu-ra-Saza.

Sarvahu or Sarvavahu: The Anonymous author in his narration does not mention Bana or Banasur. This role is rather attributed to another anti-hero, a character from another classical literary source named Sarvahu or Sarvavahu. Reference to this story is rare. The story relates that in the fight between *Rishi* Jamdagni and Sarvavahu, the latter was subjugated by the *rishi*. But he was successful in obtaining from Jamdagni some promises, which are the same as told before. This story also gives acquaintance to the establishment of Jamdagni.

Jogini and Jamlu: It is narrated that there live *joginis*, fairies, at the Chanderkhani pass. A *jogini* named Naunhi came to Peej from here together with the incense of juniper. She is represented in a *rath* with two other *joginis*. The three *joginis* have each a lady *gur* also. Another instance of the relationship between the *joginis* and Jamlu has been narrated elsewhere. The story also tells how Chanderkhani and Malana are related and how Jamlu settled down at Malana. At Chanderkhani pass travellers worship the *joginis*.

Mohammedan Origin of Jamlu: Relationship of Jamlu with Akbar or Mohammedan aspect is an important element of most of the stories.

Origin of the Term Jamlu: Customarily the god of Malana is addressed as Jamlu. Harcourt writes as 'Jaemlu' and some others as 'Jaimlu'. Some scholars maintain that the term Jamlu originates from the Bhoti term Jambhala or Jamlung signifying the god of wealth in Buddhism. Prarthi argues that since the language of Malana contains a number of words from Bhoti language, the name Jamdagni was derived from the Bhoti word of Jambhala, that is Kuber (Prarthi, 1971: 39-40). Khub Ram and Laldass Pankaj maintain that it originates from Jamblung or Jamlung, the Bhoti god of wealth. Jambhala and Kuber, both are Sanskrit terms. The two are both gods of wealth and belong to the race of Yaksh. Jambhala is borrowed into the Bhoti language in Buddhism as it is. Kuber is also associated with Jamlu in some other way and the term is translated into Bhoti literally as *lus-ngan* (deformed body), but is addressed by a different term in the doctrinal application.

Jamlu and Jamdagni: While Jamlu is a name existing in folk tradition, the *devta* is also identified with Jamdagni, a god from the classical Brahminical literature. Harcourt (1871) perhaps is first to record this application of the term. G.M. Young (1911) says that Jamlu is a corruption of Jamad-Agni, a name of a *rishi* in Vishnu Puran whose wife is Renuka. Reference to Jamdagni is found in the Gazetteer (1897), and used by the Anonymous author (1924).

Origin of Jamlu: Laldass Pankaj observes some confusion prevalent among the scholars on this point. He says that some scholars presume that the people of Malana were once Mohammedan and Jamlu was their Pir. Further that some others consider him as Indra, others as Tibetan Jamblung or Jamlung and still others as Jamdagni. Clarifying the issue, he refutes the first proposition on the ground that the time of origin of Jamlu and that of the advent of Islam in India do not coincide. He also denies Jamlu being Indra. He accepts the other two

propositions. In his opinion, when Jamblung or Jamlung came from Mansarovar to Tibet, people, seeing his character, called him Jamlung, god of wealth. Before the arrival of Padamsambhav in Tibet he was an ordinary god in the view of the people. But thereafter on the establishment of Lamaism or Buddhism he came to be recognised as an incarnated god. In this manner Jamlung became famed. When Jamdagni came from Spiti through Hamta the people could not pronounce his name properly and it became Jamlu and in this manner Jamdagni became Jamlu (Pankaj, 2004: 6-7). This attempts to clarify some of the leading views existing about Jamlu or Jamdagni. It may show some resemblance with the term Jambhala on the phonetic ground, but it is difficult to establish the presumptions clearly.

Some Essential Attributes of Jamlu: Jamlu has no temple, *mohra* (face, icon) or *rath* (body frame). It has a small *dehri*, a miniature temple, made of stone, with sloping roof, only at Malana. Its essential symbols are *dhaudachh* or *dapaut* (incense ladle) and *khanda* (sword), also called *tundach*. At other places Jamlus have a *thauda*, a small platform or simply a resting place, paved with stone-slabs under a big tree, where the *gur* sits. Among the musical instruments Jamlu has four *naphere*, blow pipes made of silver about one and half metres long. Conspicuously the god does not own any bell which is an essential item of every god in Kullu.

Jamlu, the Real God of Wealth: Jamlu owns a *bhandar* (store-house) and a treasury, containing a mass of unestimable wealth. Further if we accept the proposition of some authors that the term Jamlu has developed from Jamlung or Jamblung, he may be identified with Jambhala, the god of wealth in Buddhism. Jambhala is a Sanskrit term and has been adopted *mutatis mutandis* in Lamaistic Buddhism. In classical Hindu and Buddhist literature Kuber too is a god of treasury and riches. He is a *yaksh* and is the chief of the race. He is guardian of the northern quarter and resides at the holy mount Kailash. He is ugly and pot-bellied. Beside Jamlu or Jambhala, Kuber assumes a subordinate role, he is manager or guardian of the treasury of Jamlu.

A modern work affirms the classical role of the *yaksh* race as a whole in the Indian tradition. Ram Kinkar, the famed modern Indian sculptor, has carved two huge stone sculptures which have been placed flanking the main gate of the building of Reserve Bank of India, New Delhi, the symbol of modern treasury. They are *yaksh* and *yakshi*, brother and sister. The two sturdy figures in primordial posture symbolize the modern agriculture, industry and wealth and guard the accumulation (Tobdan and Chattopadhyay, 1982: 17). Otherwise also there is no conflict in the presence of the two gods together, since Jambhala is the *yi-dam* (tutelary deity) form of Kubera.

Jamlu, the Indigenous God: Mr Young considers that Jamlu and Paras Ram represent in Kullu indigenous deities whose names have been changed by subsequent Hindu immigrants. "Jamlu and Gyephana are old nature deities of two very high peaks Deo Tibba (20,417 feet) and Gyephana (19,213 feet)." They also have really no temple at their headquarters. Hugh Whistler also says that Deota Jamlu appears to be the spirit of the great peak of Deo Tibba. Lyall remarks that Jamlu is a kind of demon or spirit. This is however not an exception. As he was a conqueror, he is remarked as a robber even by some of his devotees at places in Kullu.

Anticlockwise Circumambulation: A sign of antiquity and exception in the culture of Malana can be seen also from the fact that in case of certain rites circumambulation of the sacred objects are taken anticlockwise and not clockwise, as is the practice in other cultures. Gepang takes anticlockwise circumambulation when performing the sacred rites.

Jamlu's Rath: It is one of the prominent attributes of Jamlu that it has no *rath*. With the modern need and the doctrinal developments, the requirements of the people have changed. There are certain Jamlus who have *raths*, but there is no custom for construction of *rath* with the other existing ancient gods. Therefore it appears that people desired the need to install new gods in their villages and there are some new ones established in the villages of Jamlu, who have been provided with all the

paraphernalia of a god like *rath*, temple, etc.

Periodical Excursions: *Devta*s go annually to holy places situated in Kullu like Vashisht, Manikaran, Rudranag and the confluence of Beas and Parvati at Bhuin (Bhuntar) on pilgrimage and ritual bathing. This ritual is followed by most of the *devta*s and is an annual feature with them. There may be some special occasions for visit in addition to the customary ritual. The villagers have to join the entourage compulsorily, one person from each house. They travel all on foot carrying the *devta* on their shoulders. The *devta* goes in full dress and with all his accompaniments like full band, symbolic artifacts, instruments and attendants. In the course of journey some people host the *devta* for feast.

Jamlu of Malana goes for bathing, but not regularly, to Rudranag in Manikaran valley beyond Barshaini and Tosh. The most common cause is called *ghaut*, when some important articles of the *devta* have been manufactured, or a new temple has been constructed or a new official, either *gur* or *pujari*, has been chosen. The god himself also may express the desire or some rich devotee might have extended an invitation. On the way people from the villages of Chhalal, Rashol, Barshaini and Tosh accompany the *devta*. In Manikaran he comes once in three years where he has a *marh*. Fateh Chand, the *naurh* of Jamlu of Malana, says that in his whole life of 46 years he has seen Jamlu going to Rudranag only once.

Jamlu Devta: His Family and the Retinue

As we learn from the legends that when Jamlu came from the place of his origin, he was alone. Presently he lives in Malana with his companions. He has associates and followers living at other places. There are a number of *deoghars* which are all presided over by a Jamlu. He has a consort named Narodu and two brothers Jagtham and Gepang. He has a sister named Bhaga Siddh and some others say Hidimba also. Trijuginarayan is his *guru* (teacher). The *Athara Karadu* is associated with him. Kamir, Kuber or Kabir is his treasurer. Danu or Banasur was his

predecessor and both are his adversaries. Jamlu is *bada deu* (great god) all over Kullu.

Narodu: Jamlu's consort is known in Malana as Narodu or Narod. The goddess is known in the early descriptions of the European authors and in the old Gazetteers as Naroī. Rose writes it as Narol. In Kullu she is known as Narol, and some others also call her Hanol. At Pangan, the village of Jagtham, Narol is the name of a *devta* and not *devi*. Narol in the Kahika fair of Shirad represents a symbol of the *devta* of the village which is taken out in the procession at the time of the *mela*. It is a wooden club of about one and a half feet long and six inches wide. Narodu has a temple and a *marh* in Malana. At most of the places, at the *deoghars*, there is a *dehri* of about one and a half metre high with sloping roof. In the context of Jamdagni her name is Renuka. In this respect she is also addressed as Mahamaya.

The *devi* in her temple at places is said to have a *mohra* which is not brought out and none can see it. The *pujari* goes into the temple once in a year at the time of Phagli *mela* celebrated in her honour. But he can go there only with his eyes covered with a band of cloth.

Hidimba: At times Hirimma or Hidimba is named as Jamlu's sister. "Jamlu is said to be the *bhai* (not necessarily brother) of *devi* Hirma." At Shangchar it is held that Hidimba is the sister of Jamdagni and the relationship can be understood in this context.

Bhaga Siddh: In practice Bhaga Siddh, who has her residence in Pini village, in Parvati valley, opposite to Jari, some distance away towards Bhuntar, is considered as sister of Jamlu. Bhaga Siddh has some customary relations with Jamlu. Bhaga Siddh is propitiated in Duggi Lag and Shilihar also.

Jagtham: Jagtham, in tradition and practice, is accepted as the brother of Jamlu. Most of his followers believe that he is Jamlu's elder brother. Jagtham's seat is located at village Barshaini in the upper Parvati valley. He occasionally visits Malana on

important occasions. Jagtham is also located at Pangan near Badagran in Beas valley and at Baggi Kshadi. With Gepang they are thus three brothers.

Jagtham of Barshaini: Jagtham of Barshaini, it is said, is *garhpati* (owner of fort) of the villages falling in the upper Parvati valley, viz. Malana, Rashol, Katagla, Chhalal, Manikaran, Gargi, Brauna, Tosh and Barshaini on the right bank of the Parvati, and the two villages of Pulga and Tulga on the left bank, opposite to Barshaini, situated on a comfortable plain. Some others contest this fact. The *devta* has no *gur* since long. Kahika festival is held every three years. The people of Barshaini have no kinship relations with Malana, the relation of *dayara-bayara* (*dharma-chara*, brothers by choice) is all due to the relationship of the two *devtas*. It is heard that earlier the people of Spiti used to come through this route, but none has seen.

Jagtham of Pangan: Pangan is situated near Badagran, in the upper Beas valley. Pangan, a village of about 600 inhabitants, consists of four sections: Karot, Gubhidhar, Jogin and Mahanch. Jagtham is the chief *devta* of the village. There are temples of Jagtham and *devta* Narol. There are several other gods propitiated here viz. Bir Tari, Than, Jangru and Veer *Devta*. They are called as *Bahanh*, associates of the chief *devta* of the village. Before offering sacrifices for Jagtham, others have to be propitiated.

It is said that Jagtham came here from Kanaur, i.e. upper Manikaran valley. Therefore the *devta* and the officials of the *devta* avoid going to that direction as they don't feel pleased in doing so. Jamlu is his brother. Jagtham has *rath* and goes to attend Dussehra festival in Kullu. But he has no relationship with the god of either Malana or Barshaini. The *gur* of Jamlu of Shangchar, the first *deoghar*, situated in the neighbourhood, tells in his pronouncements that he is related to Jagtham and is his brother. The *devtas* of the two villages have close relationship and exchange visits on important occasions like the *mela* of Shaon, Birshu, etc. The *pujari* of the *devta* is said to have come from Spiti.

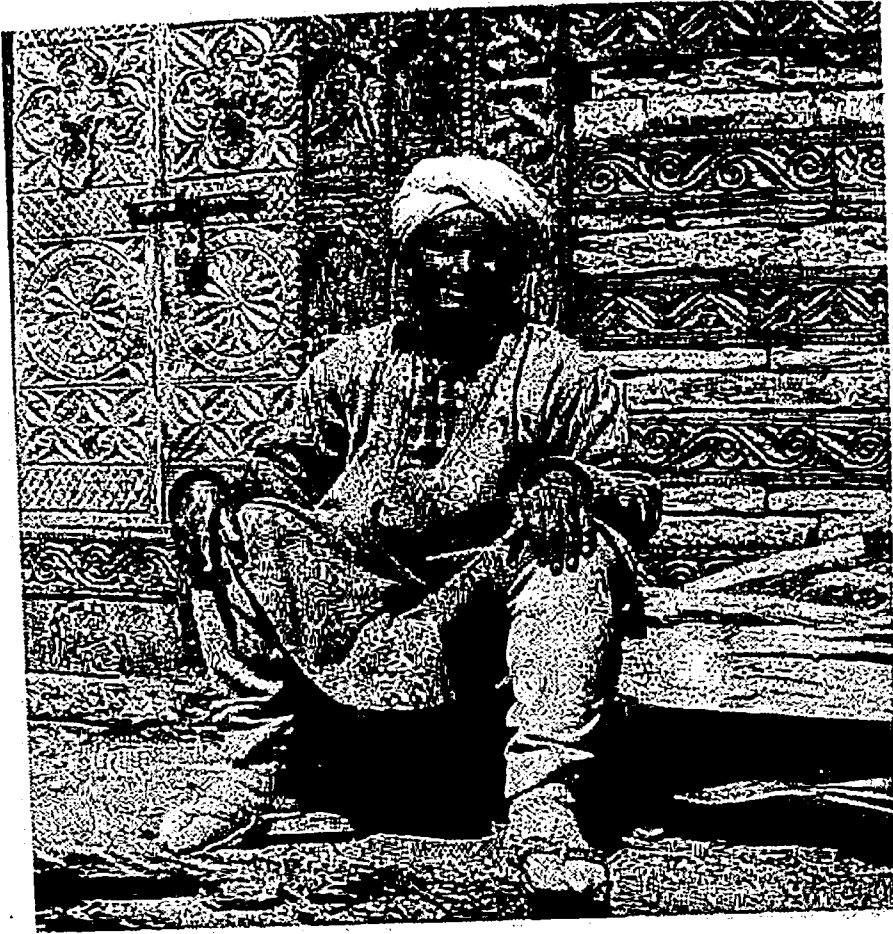


Fig. 22. The pujari.

Kamir or Kuber: At Malana Jamlu owns a store of huge wealth and treasure. There is no guardian god here. In the *deoghars* there resides a god of wealth named at places as Kamir, at other places as Kuber and also Kabir. Kamir has been assigned status equal to Narol, as the two have *dehri*s of equal size situated side by side in the premises of Jamlu at various *deoghars*. At one *deoghar* it was told that the presence of Kamir or Kuber is an essential feature for the identification of a real *deoghar*. Kamir is not known in Malana. At Shangchar *devta* Than and Kamir are considered as *bahanh* (associates) of Jamlu.

In a tradition the role of this deity is that of a *bhandari*, i.e. storekeeper or manager of the stores or the treasury. Although the deity with three names has the same role at all the places, they cannot be taken as variants of the same connotation. Kuber is a well known god in the Hindu and Buddhist pantheon. In Badagran, Koodung and Chhani he is taken as Kuber. Kamir is not a literary name but a native and original to the *deoghars*. At Jagatsukh he is called Kamir. At Pulag he is known as Danu Kamir and is a household god. At one *deoghar*, Kamir was being

taken as *senapati* (an army General). Kabir is a historical person. Although he was a poet, saint and social reformer, he appears to have been assigned here a new role by elevating him to the status of a deity. In the story of the Anonymous author it is given as Kabir *Bhandari* (Kabir, the manager of the stores).

Athara Karadu: By Athara Karadu it is customarily understood as a group of eighteen gods or as some scholars give it a more liberal interpretation, as multitude of gods. There is a temple dedicated to Athara Karadu at Malana at a prominent place near the *bhandar* of Jamlu. This prominence ascribed to the deity or deities is rare in Kullu. The relationship originates and can be understood between the two through the legend that Jamlu while coming from Hamta was carrying a basket containing the *mohras* of the *athara karadu*.

Trijuginarayan: Trijuginarayan is *guru* (teacher) of Jamdagni. This sacred relationship of teacher and pupil between Trijuginarayan and Jagtham is derived from the position existing in the Brahmanical pantheon.

Gepang: Gepang is the god of Lahul and is known as brother of Jamlu. A legend is related in Pulag that while Jamlu was coming with his brothers and sister, Gepang was left behind, as he was tired, and he chose to stay and settle where he took rest. The two other brothers carrying their sister on their back moved on and reached Pini. Jamlu told his sister to stay at the place and said, "I will go with the brother, to accompany him upto his place," and the two then went away. There Jamlu, through his spiritual power, turned day into night and vice versa. He converted the area that he liked into dark and the rest as bright with light. He then asked his elder brother, at which place he preferred to stay. The brother told that he was older and that he was hard of hearing. Therefore he would like to stay in the place where there is light. Jagtham liked the place and he had no problems. When Jamlu reached the place of his choice, he had to struggle with the *rakshasas* (devils). In the *Lara*, the legend of Gepang, there is no reference to any god related to him and living outside Lahul.

According to one source, Gepang is the eldest among the three and Jamlu is the youngest. Jamlu is the most powerful, the strongest in spiritual power and also the richest. According to one informant, in 1973 Jagtham came to Malana in the month of *Sawan*. Gepang came five years before that.

Ajepad: Ajepad or Ajaypal is a widely known and a popular name as a spirit or a historical person throughout the western and the central Himalaya. In Malana Ajepad is a god of the shepherds who is worshipped in the month of *Kartik* along with some other deities by offering them sheep. He is said to have been brought by a Gaddi shepherd. He is worshipped at home also. He accompanies Jamlu and is considered equally powerful.

Danu Rakshas: Danu is a *rakshas* who inhabited the place before the advent of Jamlu and was expelled by Jamlu. Danu Rakshas is said to live now at Nerang, on the other side of the Nala. He is occasionally offered sacrifices.

According to another story Danu Bhut or Banu Bhut signifies his wrath by a gale of wind. He dwells in the Dugher thach on the mountains, west of the valley, and way-lays men in the shape of a bear or an ox or a tree, and once a man has seen him the man's heart is filled with a growing fear which kills him in time most certainly, even if a goat is sacrificed to the Bhut. About 1892 he came down with such force that he brought down a large juniper tree which was shown till sometime and damaged Jamlu's temple. Jamlu has a sheep sacrificed to him.

Jogini: *Jogini* (fairy) is a popular goddess propitiated in Malana. She attacks men who go up to the high ranges with too many flowers in their caps or in gaudy clothes. Illness follows, and to cure it a *chhelu* (goat kid), not black in colour, must be sacrificed very early in the morning on the roof of the house. One such goddess in the village is said to have come from *Girva kothi*, a place in the mountain above.

Other devtas and spirits: Besides the above mentioned gods and goddesses, there are some other minor primitive deities associated with the life of the people of Malana. They are

connected with different aspects of their life like agriculture, animal husbandry, dwellings, etc.

Bastar Deo is the god of the dwelling place. He is worshipped by offering a sprig of yew (*rakhal*). Than Deo is the god of the manor. He lives outside the house. *Pind* (ball of flour) are offered to him on the first day of harvest. He is a popular *devta* in whole Kullu and in some villages he has *dehra* and *rath* and some of them attend the Dussehra festival. Patal Deota accompanies the herd of sheep to the pastures in the height. He is worshipped by the *phwals* (shepherds). Dufatta and Dramgo are placed in *tada*, the topmost floor of the house.

Samahan: *Devta*s in Kullu possess some essential articles for kitchen for use during community gatherings. Among them *samahan*, a large cauldron, is the most important in which rice or curry can be cooked. It is made of either brass or copper. It is carried along with the *devta* when he is on a long visit and people on the way put offerings in it. The *samahans* at Jana and Malana are famous which are made of copper. They have the capacity of cooking either 60 *bhars* of rice or meat of sixty sheep at a time. They were perhaps manufactured in the village itself and are so large and heavy that they cannot be moved outside the village.

Jamlu Devta and Dussehra of Kullu

Dussehra is celebrated in Kullu annually at Dhalpur ground, Kullu town, for seven days, on a magnificent scale. Besides this there is a tradition of celebrating Dussehra, although on a smaller scale, in some other villages viz. Vashishth, Jagatsukh, Haripur, Thawa at Naggar and Manikaran. It may be noticed that all these sites are situated on the left bank or left side of the Beas. There are *raths* of the same model, as that of Raghunathji, but smaller in size. They are decorated and drawn on the same day as at Kullu. The *mela* is celebrated at these places for one day. Earlier at some places it was held for more than one day, upto five days.

The festival of Dussehra started in Kullu from the time of Raja Jagat Singh (CE 1637-1672) after the image of Raghunathji (Ramchandra) was brought from Oudh (Ayodhya, Allahabad) at the instance of the Raja. At one time it is stated that about three hundred *devtas* used to come from different parts of the state of Kullu to participate in the *mela*. In the mid 20th century more than 400 *devtas* could be counted having *rath*.

Devtas in Kullu, on the basis of their nature of participation in the Dussehra, may be classified in three categories. Most of the *devtas* visited the town accompanied by the whole retinue and attended the Dussehra with full honour completely for seven days. Among them some of the Jamlu *devtas* who also have *rath* and attend the festival are those from Peej, Udssoo Parli, Sees and Shyah. There are others who do not move at all from their abodes. Lastly there are some *devtas* who move from their villages but do not reach Dhalpur to attend the Dussehra. Jamlu of Malana is one among them. About him it is said, "Jamlu neither paid tribute to the Raghunath temple at Sultanpur nor attended at that temple to pay his respects on the Daserah, as all other Kulu deities were compelled to do" (Lyall, 1875: 101).

Jamlu of Malana comes for Dussehra but stays at Dhobi which is situated opposite to Dhalpur, across the Beas, in Phati Kharahal. Some other *devtas* also follow him. The village constitutes three parts: Dobhi of Purohit, also known as Dobhi Chowki; Dobhi of Deu; and Angu Dobhi. In the first Dobhi live the priests of the ruler of Kullu, *raj purohit* who were given land in *jagir* by the Rajas at Sultanpur. The second is the village of *devta* Jamlu of Malana where families belonging to three sections were given land: one was Thakur, the second was a *nath* and the third was *pujari* (priest) and cook of Jamlu. There is a small vacant plot of more than an acre where all the entourages of the *devtas* assemble and stay during the period. There is a two-storey *marh* at one corner. Jamlu owns a small temple situated at a distance of about fifty metres away from the place and the *dapaut* (incense-holder) of the *devta* is kept here permanently. Both these constructions are of recent time,



Fig. 23. Musical instruments of Jamlu being played by the zamindars.

of 10-15 years back. The *devtas* coming to this place are Jamlu of Malana, Jamlu of Kotadhar, Shukli Nag of Tondla, Ajimal of Soyal in Kais, Sharbal Nag of Saur and Jeev Narayan of Jana. The villages to which these *devtas* belong lie all on the left bank of the Beas. This fact speaks of some event important in the history of Kullu.

The *devtas* reach on the same day on which the Dussehra festivals begins and show their presence in the celebrations of the festival but watching from a distance which is situated at a higher and commanding place. The *devtas* start reaching by 3 o'clock in the evening and they all reach by around 4 p.m. except Jamlu who comes the next day or the third day. The people of Malana come through Pini, opposite Jari in Manikaran valley and after crossing over the ridge they reach Dobhi. Now after the construction of a motorable road they have left this route. They bring nothing with them. Other *devtas* also don't bring *rath*. They come with incense-holder and bell, accompanied by the group of followers and the musical band. Those having the turn of making arrangement of stay and meal etc., reach at



Fig. 24. Musical instruments of Jamlu.

around 2.30 p.m. on the day of the Dussehra.

The *devtas* do not go to Dhalpur because they argue that if they go there they will be polluted by touching. Therefore they stay here in clean environment. A story is told that when the Dussehra started in the time of Raja Jagat Singh, a misfortune befell on the Rani at Sultanpur. Reason was asked from Jamlu who told that she has been polluted. Then she was cured. Since then this tradition has continued. Here no celebration is held. Only the usual daily *puja* of the individual *devta* is held. They come here only on the occasion of Dussehra. The participants say that they have heard, but none of them has seen, that earlier there used to assemble about 22 or 23 *devtas*, but now only six *devtas* come.

The *devtas* are accompanied by the office-bearers viz. *gur*, *pujari*, *kardar*, *jathera*, *karmishth*, *palsara*, *kathiala*, and the musicians and the *rayati* or *haryana*, i.e. the followers of the *devta* of the village. They remain here for seven days, till the day of Lanka, the last day of Dussehra. On the sixth day of Dussehra, on Mohalla, some officials of the *devtas* go to pay homage to

Raghunathji at Sultanpur. The government defrays their expenses which earlier they used to receive from the Raja. The *devtas* depart on the last day of the Dussehra as soon as the *rath* is started dragging at Dhalpur. The *devtas* attending the *mela* at Dhalpur will normally also leave on the same day.

Jamlu earlier used to receive here presents like silver horses which were sent to Malana. A bag used to be placed with the *nath* family in which the offerings were accumulated and then sent to Malana.

11

Athara Karadu

Athara Karadu has a temple dedicated to it in Malana. It is a rare example in whole of Kullu. While the two *bhandars* of Jamlu are located on the edge of the large ground, the temple stands in the middle of the level ground. It faces east and is singularly roofed with wooden planks.

Although not referred to in most of the legends narrating the origin of Jamlu, a few stories trace the birth of *Athara Karadu* from the event of Jamlu's immigration into Kullu. It is said that when Jamlu first came from Hamta he was carrying a *karadu* (basket) which contained *athara* (eighteen) *karadu* (*mohra*), i.e. metal faces as we see on the *raths* of the *devtas* in Kullu today. In the context of the cult of *devta* in Kullu *athara karadu* occupies a very important place. It literally means eighteen baskets. Conventionally it is taken for the group of eighteen primeval gods of Kullu. It is believed that the system of gods in Kullu began with the advent of the *Athara Karadu*. The term stands for the group of *devtas* who immigrated into Kullu. The numerical figure of eighteen appears to have some special significance in the folk religion. Besides *Athara Karadu*, there are *Athara Nag* and *Athara Narayan*.

Prarthi relates the story of its origin stating that once the great saint Jamdagni went on a pilgrimage to Mount Kailash and after taking circumambulation, returned through Spiti. After

staying for a while at Hamta, he set out towards a place named Malana. On the way he came to Chanderkhani pass. The *rishi* was carrying a basket having the statues of eighteen gods. There a strong wind blew which cast all the statues here and there in the far off places. Wherever a statue fell, it arose in the form of a god. Then a separate basket was constructed for each god, which in Kullu is called *Karadu*, *Karadi*, *Karandi* or *Kandu* (Prarthi, 1971: 23).

The old Gazetteer narrates the story, that when Jamlu came from Hamta to Malana with his wife Naroï, he carried a casket containing the other eighteen gods of Kullu, and at the top of the Chanderkhani pass they opened the casket, and a gale of wind blew the gods all over Kullu to their present homes. This story may have originated in some sphere of influence of the *Devta* Jamlu, the local deities (or headmen subsequently deified as Thakurs) being appointed by him. There is however, no trace now of such a suzerainty, except in the fact that Jamlu still imposes fines on other gods on occasions when the people are in difficulties and come to Jamlu for advice. The opportunity is then taken to rebuke the people for their vices and to conform to the reputation of the *gurs* of Jamlu for truth-telling.

The gods who belong to the class of *athara karadu* are today considered as the most honoured and powerful among all the gods. Those outside the group of eighteen vie for a rank in the row of *athara karadu*. Many of them show their origin from Jamlu of Malana and exhibit their solidarity with him. From this they receive recognition for their antiquity and prestige. The *karadu* (a woven basket) is found with many gods till today in which the *mohras* of the *devta* are kept after putting down from the *rath*. Earlier, it is presumed, there were no *raths* and the *mohras* were carried in a basket. Slowly they began to prepare *raths*. Some gods are stated to have owned *raths* only recently. A few gods like the *gohri devta* who has his *dehra* at Dhalpur, in Kullu town, are still carried in a basket. These baskets were generally made of a local wild plant which is similar to bamboo. But it is learnt that there were *karadus* of metal also. As regards

the names of the original eighteen gods, there is some debate among the devotees and the scholars.

In one sense the group represents the immigrant gods excluding the 'gods of the soil'. Bhagat Ram Aranya says, "*Athara Karadu* are eighteen *devtas* who belong to the Vedic times. Jagatipat at Naggar is their central place. All the gods and goddesses of Kullu are called *Athara Karadu*" (Bhagat Ram Aranya, Year 1, No. 2: 17-18). He lists the eighteen primeval *devtas* as follows:

Name of the god	Village where the god resides
1. Jamlu	Malana
2. Jagthom	Barshaini
3. Diyari Thakur (Trijuginarayan)	Diyar
4. Kasoli Narayan	Kasol
5. Sankirni	Sankiran
6. Shamshari Mahadev	Shamshar
7. Bhaga Siddh	Pini
8. Singhmal	Gahar (Dhoauratha)
9. Girmal	Banogi
10. Thirmal	Dhara
11. Aajimal	Soyal
12. Jeev Narayan	Jana
13. A'mal	Chachogi
14. Shubh Narayan	Rumsu
15. Hor Horshu	Naggar Hallan
16. Shandal	Shaleen
17. Manu	Manali
18. Gautam	Goshal

Here it may be observed that the name of Jamlu, who brought the basket of *athara karadu*, is also included in the list and his name stands at the top. The list includes his brother Jamdagni, their sister Bhaga Siddh and Trijuginarayan, the teacher of Jamdagni.

Vidya Chand Thakur enumerates the eighteen *karadus* thus: 1. Shamshari Mahadev in Outer Saraj; 2. Shringa Rishi at Sakiran in Inner Saraj; 3. Trijugi Narayan in Diyar in the main valley; 4. Kasoli Narayan in Kasol; 5. Jagtham in Barshaini; 6. Devi Bhaga Siddh in Pini; 7. Singhmal in Gahar; 8. Girmal in Banogi; 9. Thirmal in Dhara; 10. Ajimal in Soyai; 11. Ajmal in Khrohad-Bajogi; 12. Jeev Narayan in Nalag-Jana; 13. Shubh Narayan in Rumsu; 14. Hor-Horshu in Hallan; 15. Shandal in Shalin; 16. Manu in Manali; 17. Gautam in Goshal; and 18. Jamlu in Malana. The realm of the *devtas* began under the leadership of Jamlu, therefore, he is addressed as Raja (Vidya Chand, 2006: 82).

Some scholars argue that Jamlu could not carry his own *karadu* (*mohra*) in the *karadu* (basket) that he was carrying. Therefore Jamlu cannot be listed among the group of the eighteen gods. Bhatnagar gives the list of eighteen *karadus* alongwith the name of the villages where the gods reside (Bhatnagar, 2007: 241). The list is the same as given by Bhagat Ram as above except that there are minor differences in the names of the *devtas* and villages.

The terminology of *karadu* has given rise to a number of interpretations and is a subject of constant debate among the scholars. Laldass Pankaj says that *athara karadu* originated from Jamlu and they all dispersed at Chanderkhani. He disagrees with the list of the gods as given above. He explains that *Athara Karadu* does not mean eighteen gods, rather they are the representatives of the eighteen classes of *devtas* which he enumerates as follows: 1. Brahma, 2. Vishnu, 3. Shiv, 4. Ganesh, 5. Shakti, 6. Rudragana, 7. Adityagana, 8. Vasugana, 9. Ashvanikumar, 10. Rishigana, 11. Naga *devta*, 12. Apsrayen, 13. Gandharv, 14. Yoginiyan, 15. Sadhyagan, 16. Yaksh, 17. Siddh, 18. Veer, 19. Bhairav, etc. (Laldass Pankaj, 2004: 7-8). Even though the list is very comprehensive, it is yet not exhaustive, and is intended to include every god that exists in Kullu. He also says that all the *devtas* of Kullu identify themselves with the *Athara Karadu*. In this manner all the *devtas* are included in the list of *Athara Karadu*.

In the view of G.M. Young the gods of Kullu represent the Thakurs, the local rulers, and belong to the period before the reign of the Rajas. In his view some of these Thakurs must have become deified, and the extent of their territory might have corresponded to what is now the sphere of influence of the god. We cannot say whether it confirms the above statement, but at Malana the villagers address Jamlu as Thakur, rather Thakaras. The most powerful god of Kullu, Raghunathji is also addressed as Thakar. Similarly the gods are addressed as Thakras in Kinnaur.

Gods of Soyal: There is a class of gods who inhabited the place before the advent of Jamlu. *Khodu deu* resides among the grove of *khod* (walnut) trees and *Pathru* (stone) *deu* lives in the rocks. Among the most important of this class of *devtas* is *deu Than* (god of soil).

Gods of Jana: Jeev Narayan is the chief god of the village. Besides Jamlu other primitive gods of the village are: Thatharu, Dangu Daroge, Handu, Hangi, Athara Pade and Mahamaya (Renuka). Renuka was brought by thieving from Malana when the village was afflicted by an epidemic. She, it is said, gave relief to the affected people.

12

Deoghars of Jamlu

'*Barah deoghar*' is a popular phrase current in Kullu which implies that Jamlu of Malana possesses twelve *deoghars*. *Deoghar* represents a village outside Malana in Kullu whose presiding deity is Jamlu and who had been paying tribute annually or half-yearly to Jamlu of Malana. *Deoghar* is a modern term. The earlier scholars write as *dogher* which means outhouse. Jamlu of Malana is the chief of all the Jamlus (*bada deo*). Lyall maintains that in the Raja's time Jamlu was much feared. "The Malana men, who are all under his special protection, were allowed great license; they used to say that the other *devtas*' temples were their *deo's dogri*, or outhouses, and help themselves to anything they admired in them." "Jamlu has lands and tenants in Kullu, say the people themselves," writes Howell.

Bruce writes that Jamlu is extremely well off, as besides his property in Malana, he owns several small estates in Kullu which pay him well, his revenue being collected yearly by his Malana subjects. He is the only one of the Kullu deities who pays no respect to Raghunathji, the senior god who lives in Sultanpur, and receives the homage from all the surrounding gods when they are carried in to *salaam* to his triumphal car. These facts are indicative of the reputation enjoyed by Jamlu of Malana.

Ha'r: Dominion of Devta: The territory of influence of a *devta* in Kullu is known as *ha'r* and the followings of the *devta* as

ha'rya'n. The latter term again means on the one hand the persons accompanying the *devta* when he is out on a visit, and on the other it applies to the residents of the dominion of the *devta*. In this manner although the *ha'r* of Jamlu should be Malana, it is admitted that it extends beyond Malana comprehending the valleys of Manikaran or Parvati and that of Beas. Indèed there are Jamlus in Banjar and Sainj valleys also and they maintain the same relationship with that of Malana as the others do. The *pujari* at Malana reveals that the *devtas* from outside come only when they receive invitation from Malana. Jamlu is *Raja* (king), as also *bada deo* (great god). As Jamdagni he is *rishi*, saint.

Jamlu Outside Kullu

Rose finds the cult of Jamlu extending much beyond Kullu. Identifying Jamlu with Jamdagni *Rishi*, he says that his cult is widespread in Kangra hills and maintains that Baijnath is dedicated to him, and that in Kullu he is especially worshipped at Malana, the remote valley whose people are called Ra deo (Rose, 1883, vol. 1: 424). G.M. Young says that Jamlu has temples in Spiti, Ladakh and in many places in Kullu. The references to Baijnath and Ladakh are the only instances. The old Gazetteer highlights the eminence enjoyed by Jamlu in the words, "Deota Jamlu whose principal residence is at Malana in Waziri Parol, has temples in Spiti, Kulu proper, Saraj and Rupl. His cult is an important feature of the religious life of the subdivision, and almost everything that is known of him and his worshippers is out of the ordinary."

In Kullu there are many villages where they have Jamlu as their principal god and they maintain close relationship with that of Malana. Their position has declined in some places after the installation of new gods there and their bond with Malana also has weakened. Some of them trace their origin from Jamlu of Malana and others to that of some neighbouring village. Jamlu of Shangchar, the first *deoghar*, came himself from Malana. That of Koodung, the thirteenth *deoghar*, came from the neighbouring village of Burua. That of Tosh was brought from Malana by

stealing. Those of Hawai and Shyah were one till some years back. One of such spirit was born in a village spontaneously only a decade ago.

About the relationship between Jamlu of Malana and that of the *deoghars*, one of the informed persons explains that there is one Jamlu in all the twelve *deoghars* but *shakti* (power) are different. The Jamlus of *deoghars* are further divided into two classes. One class is considered of those belonging to the *deoghars*. Others are considered as belonging to outside this fold, the new entrants whose number had been expanding constantly. The *deoghars* are further subdivided into two classes, firstly the original twelve *deoghars* and the second consisting of the rest. There are others who uphold the view that all the *deoghars* are equal and it is classless.

Concept of Deoghar: Farmers in Himachal have a small house built in their farms which is situated away from their home. There they stay during the peak time of work of ploughing, sowing and harvesting. They thrash their crops and store the hay there. They keep their cattle there in the winter. In this manner they save a great amount of time and labour in transporting the hay to home and manure from home to the field.

The position in Malana is more acute. The topography is very tough. The villages have their fields scattered at many places and they are situated far away from their home, some of them even upto twenty kilometres. Therefore the people have got constructed houses there. In the summer they keep their stock of sheep and goats and graze them there. Each family owns upto three or four such houses at different places. Each of such houses is said to be fully provided with essential provisions. In Kullu such houses are known as *doghri* or *shauran* and in Malana as *doghri* or *shain*.

G.M. Young says, Jamlu has temples in many places in Kullu, but most of them are simply resting places of the Jamlu of Malana. In the latter writings the term is expressed as *deoghar* and is interpreted to mean a 'house of devta' (*deo* = devta; *ghar*

= house). Usage of the term in this context or in this sense is not found employed at any other place in the state either in practice or in literature.

Thus a *deoghar* of Jamlu constitutes a village presided over by a Jamlu and has intimate relationship with Malana. Originally these are supposed to have been twelve.

In establishing the *deoghars*, at places Jamlu appears to have been a victor. Before the occupation of Sukhu Sauh by Jamlu, it was held by the Nag devta who presently resides at Aleo. He displaced the previous occupant. At Shangchar it is told that the original *devta* of the village was uprooted by Jamlu and he founded himself there. At Badagran it is related that it was formerly ruled by a Raja, rather a Rana, named Bhosal. He is quite a famous character in the oral history of Kullu. He had a spouse named Rupini. They had a son named Ghunghri and a daughter named Gudri or Dei Gudri. His place of judgement and seat are still shown here. He was subdued by Jamlu and occupied his land. Therefore Jamlu had a large estate of 500 bighas in the village. It is told that the *gur* here speaks sometimes in Bhotanti or Kanashi language.

Symbols and Essential Features of a Deoghar

In the villages recognized as *deoghar*, Jamlu is the chief *devta* and he is known after the name of the village like Jamlu of Badagran, etc. Jamlu is rich but his style of living is very simple. He owns no temple. He has a simple place of residence called *sthan* (place) paved with stone-slabs in the open, under a large tree. A better arrangement is made by raising a small platform about one and a half cubic metres in size called *thauda*. Upon it sits the *gur* of the local Jamlu or that of Malana whenever he visits the place. He has a *marh* and *bhandar*, and owns land. He has no *mohra* and *rath*. His symbol is *dapaut* (incense-holder) and at places also has a *khanda* (sword). He also does not own a bell. He keeps all the musical instruments of a Kullu *devta*. *Naphere* (blow pipes of special kind) is a musical instrument found with Jamlu.

The relationship between Malana and Jamlu of that village on the one hand and a *deoghar* and its Jamlu on the other may be learnt through some customs that exist between them. The *deoghars* appear to emulate the ideals of Jamlu or that of Malana as far as possible. The sections of the village at some places are named in the same manner as in Malana. They celebrate most of the festivals of Jamlu of Malana and in the same manner as is done there. Two Phaglis are celebrated in the *deoghars* whereas only one Phagli is celebrated in all other villages in Kullu. At Chhani it was informed that all the festivals of Jamlu are celebrated there. Exceptionally at Shauran only one Phagli is held. All the sets of officials of Malana may not be found, but *bari*, an important designation in Malana, is found in use in almost all the *deoghars*. In fact they vary in functions but the method of selection and the term of office are the same.

Jamlu owned land in these *deoghars* which was given on *gha'rh* (shareholding) to the tenants there. During the British period Jamlu held several villages as *muafi* (rent-free) estates. Officials from Malana visit the *deoghars* annually for collection of tribute.

Another formal bond between Malana and the *deoghars* is found in the periodical, said to be an interval of five years, visit by the officials of Jamlu from the twelve *deoghars* to Malana. This occurs on the receipt of invitation from Malana. At Shangchar it is told that about five persons, called *ha'r*, among the officials of the Jamlu go to Malana. About four years back there was a *pratishtha* (sacred ceremony), and a *ladh* (a male sheep) was taken to Malana. Otherwise they don't take anything with them.

On the occasions of *mela* people go from the *deoghars* for *chaakri* (free service). It is a voluntary service. It is told in Malana that they don't send any invitation for *chaakri*, but the people come of their own.

Number of Deoghars

It is well-known that originally Jamlu had twelve *deoghars*. At present the number has grown enormously and it is difficult to

identify the twelve original *deoghars*. It cannot be estimated as to exactly how many *deoghars* are there. But the number exceeds far more than twelve and can be even counted more than fifty. All the villages where Jamlu presides may be considered as *deoghar*. This speaks of the gradual expansion of the popularity or influence of Jamlu.

Informed persons attempt to identify and name the twelve original places according to their own notion and knowledge. But everyone gives a different set of names. Although each one tries to give twelve names and stop there, but he always exceeds this traditionally recognized number. The list depends on the area from which the informer belongs. Later on, this notion of original number of twelve also extended to thirteen because the thirteenth *deoghar* is a known village and is an accepted number. The first one is well-known.

The Twelve Deoghars: One informant names the twelve *deoghars* as: 1. Badagarh, 2. Himri, 3. Barshai, 4. Shangchar, 5. Urasoo, 6. Sees, 7. Hawai-Shah, 8. Tosh, 9. Pashi, 10. Koodung, 11. Karjan, 12. Gajan, and 13. Soyal.

These are thirteen instead of twelve. Another informed person tells: 1. Koodung, 2. Barua, 3. Majhach, 4. Shangchar, 5. Badagran, 6. Devati, 7. Chhani Khod, 8. Hamta, 9. Soyal, 10. Jagatsukh, 11. Batahar, 12. Malana, and 13. Jana.

Here again the number is thirteen and the names contained in the second list vary much from those of the first. These are slightly influenced by the informant's place of residence, whether he belongs to Ujhhi, i.e. upper Beas valley, or middle of the valley, i.e. around Naggar or to the lower part of the valley or to Manikaran valley. Some informants, like the *gur* of Jamlu of Prini, do not consider Hamta and Malana among *deoghars*, but know them as the original place of Jamlu.

At Koodung they count the twelve *deoghars* as: 1. Shangchar, 2. Shegali, 3. Shakeri, 4. Thaudi Aage, 5. Badagran, 6. Chhani Aage, 7. Rumsu, 8. Pulag, 9. Shauran, 10. Soyeel, 11. Karjan, 12. Gajan, 13. Jagatsukh, 14. Majach, 15. Burua.

Rose perhaps was the first to consider this point. He enumerates the names of the places where Jamlu (Jamdagni) has temples in Kullu: 1. Kharon in *kothi* Malana, 2. Saman, 3. Sati, 4. Daifri, 5. Shangchar, 6. Shaigli, 7. Sakho Sah in Parain, 8. Jagatsukh, 9. Shiah, 10. Ursu, 11. Pashi, 12. Neri, 13. Sisa, 14. Badagran, 15. Baharka, 16. Gajjan, 17. Karjan, 18. Ksheri, 19. Kulang, 20. Majhachh, 21. Shakohri, 22. Soil, 23. Tapri and 24. Tos (Rose, 1883, vol I: 424-26). Gautam Singh Rana, *pujari* of Jamlu of Hamta-Prini enumerates the twelve *deoghars* as 1. Sidhpur (Shangchar), 2. Soyal, 3. Peej, 4. Burua, 5. Majhatch, 6. Chhani Aagye, 7. Badagran, 8. Shegli, 9. Kshiri, 10. Hawai, 11. Sees, 12. Tosh and 13. Koodung.

Satpal Bhatnagar lists the following sites of Jamlu in Kullu, where Jamlu (Jamdagni) *Rishi* is propitiated or Jamlu resides: 1. Hamta, 2. Kotadhar, 3. Jana, 4. Dobhi, 5. Rumsu, 6. Pulga, 7. Soel, 8. Jagatsukh, 9. Sees, 10. Prini, 11. Shegli, 12. Palchan, 13. Barua (Burua?), 14. Shangchar, 15. Poojan, 16. Riyara, 17. Baragran, 18. Sokhni, 19. Chhani, 20. Duara, 21. Bandal, 22. Hawai, 23. Shah, 24. Peej, 25. Ursu, 26. Bashkola, 27. Phojjal, 28. Darpain, 29. Kulwari, 30. Chauki (Satpal, 1996: 158-59). Bhatnagar has, however, modified his own list in his next edition to insert the name of Karjan at entry number 8, and replace the name of Palchan to Plaich at No. 13.

The *pujari* of Jamlu at Chhani attempts to restrict the number exactly to twelve. He starts naming in sequence from Kharahal, opposite Kullu town, then he moves upwards towards Manali, from there crosses over to the right bank and reaches at the head of Manikaran valley and then comes down to Chauki, opposite to Jari. This whole area is the *ha'r* (area governed) of Jamlu.

G.M. Young informs that in his time the *kardar* at Malana informed him that only nine of the *deoghars*, of which he gave names, paid regular tribute to Jamlu's treasury at Malana. Young, however, does not mention their names.

Deoghars According to Malana

In Malana an informant counts 29 *deoghars*, viz. 1. Koodung, 2. Ruar, 3. Burua, 4. Majhach, 5. Shangchar, 6. Shegdi, 7. Khshehri, 8. Bhengkhri, 9. Badagran, 10. Chhani, 11. Dawara, 12. Dhara, 13. Neri, 14. Pulag, 15. Sharan, 16. Hallan, 17. Karjan, 18. Soyal, 19. Jagatsukh, 20. Jana, 21. Kotadhar, 22. Sana-Soyal, 23. Saura, 24. Tandla (near Jana), 25. Rashol, 26. Chhalal, 27. Katagra, 28. Barshaini, and 29. Tosh.

Here some new names have been added. Krishan Kumar (2007: 101-103) has gathered names of some *deoghars* in Spiti, but they pertain to wild uninhabited places and are not identifiable. Another informant from Malana, who visits the *deoghars* for *phere* (round) says that the actual number of *deoghars* falls between fifty and sixty.

Below is given the list of the *deoghars*, which count about forty, presently visited by the *bari* from Malana. They cover the whole round in four trips. Names of the villages have been given in sequence as they visit one after the other.

(a) 1. Shauran, 2. Rumsu, 3. Pulag, 4. Hallan-I, 5. Badaigran, 6. Ramen, 7. Baltha, 8. Kumarti, 9. Charanhang, 10. Karjan, 11. Soyal, 12. Jagatsukh, 13. Koodung, 14. Majhach, 15. Burua, 16. Shangchar, 17. Shegdi, 18. Dephri, 19. Badagran, 20. Chhani, 21. Dwara, 22. Dhara, 23. Neri and to Malana. It takes about one month.

(b) 1. Kotadhar, 2. Jana, 3. Parsha, 4. Shauran. It takes about six days.

(c) *Kharahad*: 1. Phadme, 2. Tapu—one night, Shriram Dhaniram give dinner, 3. Trambli, 4. Tharku, 5. Chansari, 6. Tipri, 7. Narogi (above Bhuntar), 8. Phagu, 9. Dharmor, 10. Chauki (Jari) and Malana. It takes about ten to twelve days.

(d) *Manikaran valley*: 1. Tonha, 2. Katagla (Gatagde), 3. Chhalal (Chhalwala), 4. Rashol (Rashkoling), 5. Gohar. Then come to Rashol and to Malana. It takes about ten days. As per practice five *baris* and five *paniharis* go for the round and they are accompanied by the *pujari* and the *karmishth*. They may be

accompanied by others. They go twice in the months of *Ashadh* and *Maghshar* to Manikaran, Jana and Kharahal. They go only once in the winter to the Ujjhi valley above Naggar.

When the group of the officials visits the *deoghars* for collection of revenue, it is called *bari*. This may be from the fact that the group is headed by a *bari*. "This body of officials, when they go their rounds to collect revenue fees etc. are known as the *bari* in distinction from the grand host of Malana, the Ra-deo" (Lyall, 1875: 100). Dhani Ram, *kardar* of Jamlu of Kotadhar and some others also address the group of persons coming for collection of grains as *bari*. At Rumsu where the *bari* visits twice in a year, the second visit of the year in winter is called *badi bari* (big *bari*). The *pujari* of Shauran, who was also in charge of the collection of the revenue for Malana during the British period, tells that the *bari* first comes to Shauran, from there in turn goes to Rumsu, Pulag, Badai, Soyal, Jagatsukh, Bhadka, Koodung, Burua, Shanag, Shangchar, Dephri, Badagaon, Jyandi, Chhani, Dwara and Dhara where the round comes to halt. In the Manikaran valley they are Chhalal, Katagla, Rashol, Shatauna, Gargi, Gauhar, Chauki, Baladdi, and Bagiyanda. The party is headed by the officials of *pujari*, *kardar* and *bari* and *jathere*.

Beginning of Dispersal of Jamlu and Some Prominent Deoghars

At places it is told that Jamlu himself established the twelve places. At one place it was informed that Jamlu sent the other jamlus from Malana and established *deoghars*. There are several ways in which the spirit of Jamlu dispersed and multiplied as we learn from the story of origin of the Jamlus at different *deoghars*.

Shauran

Shauran is situated above Naggar. There are about 60 houses of which 40 belong to Zamindar and 20 to Lohars. It is said that Jamlu while coming from Hamta rested here and the place was thus named as Shauran. It is the *jetha* (higher) *deoghar*.

Shangchar, the First Deoghar

Shangchar claims to be the first *deoghar* and this fact is well accepted at other places also. Jamlu settled at Sidhpur and then was shifted to Shangchar. From here they tell that the other twelve (sic) places of Jamlu were established. The *kardar* also tells that there are eighteen *deoghars*, and he actually could name less than that viz. 1. Shangchar, 2. Shegali, 3. Kasheri, 4. Sokhanhi, 5. Dephari, 6. Badagran, 7. Dwara, 8. Chhani, 9. Neri, 10. Dhara, 11. Roonhga, 12. Baga. Some others in the village add the following names also: Thauri Aage, Rumsu, Pulag, Shauran, Soyeel, Karjan, Gajan, Jagatsukh, Majhach, and Burua.

The Last Deoghar, Jana

Jana is situated close to Malana, is a prosperous and one of the largest villages in Kullu. The large grove of mammoth *deodar* trees and number of monuments decorated with fine artistic carvings speak of its long and prosperous past. There are *bari*, *karmishth* and a *pajauli* (*pujari*), said to be one of the earliest settlers in the village.

Although this is one of the *deoghars*, the chief *devta* of the village is Jeev Narayan. There are places of propitiation of another half a dozen primitive *devtas*. In Jana there is a place for Jamlu. It has a *kothi/bhandar*. In 2007 the *bari* from Malana visited in the month of *Posh*, and the *pajauli* and the tenants arranged for their stay who stayed there for two days. The villagers contributed the grains.

Than Reegan is the most primitive god of the village. Kalia Nag was settled here before Jamlu came whom Jamlu expelled. Presently Jeev Narayan, who is supposed to have sprung up from the earth, is the chief god.

Deoghar at Kotadhar

It is told that there was a boy in the family of the *karmishth* at Jana who got related with a princess from the ruling family at Sultanpur. The two took refuge in Kotadhar and became

pajauli of Jamlu, who already existed there. There are people from Jubbal, Jana and Saraj settled here, they tell.

Rumsu

Rumsu is situated on the way from Naggar to Chanderkhani pass and Malana. It is one of the best known *deoghars*. People from Malana come here on *phere*, twice in a year. In the month of *Bhadon* there come four persons, three *bari* and *chhota karmishth*. The *pujari* here distributes the guests among the villagers for *kheendi* which falls on every family in the village in turn. Those who are left out this year, will be covered the next time. The party, i.e. the *bari*, come again in the month of *Poh* which is called as *badi bari*. This time their strength is about forty persons. Earlier they used to be about 50-60 persons, which included the carriers. In *Bhadon* they give wheat and in *Poh* paddy. Earlier each family gave a *bhar* of grains, now for the last 15-20 years they have been giving four *pathas* of wheat or paddy.

Jagatsukh

Jagatsukh was among the early capitals of the rulers of Kullu and is an important *deoghar* of Jamlu. The first ruler of Kullu, which started from the Pal lineage, was Bihangmani Pal. There is a large stone-slab measuring around 8' × 2'8" × 6" which is shown to have been related with the said ruler in the legend. The place acquired this name from Raja Jagat Singh who is supposed to have been born here. According to a legend Jagatsukh initially comprised four villages of Anasth, Kusth, Zhura and Bhanara. These were all situated around the existing town of Jagatsukh. Bhanara, which was the seat of the Piti Thakurs, is situated about a kilometre above Jagatsukh where now there is the seat of Takshak Nag. Kusth, where there is no settlement presently, lies towards Kullu. Anasth, where it is believed that grain grew first is situated towards Manali. Zhura is situated towards the Beas river but slightly removed towards Manali. The estate was so large that a person in order to cover the circumference of the estate had to walk the whole day.

It is related here that in a battle Jamlu had his body cut into pieces and wherever a piece fell a temple was raised. His head lies at Hamta, chest at Malana and the waist at Jagatsukh. Other places are Soyāl above Mansari, Burua, Majhach, Koodung, Chhani, Fojjal, Riyara, etc. Jamlu has here a seat under a big tree. He also has a *bhandar* and a *marh*. There are *dehris* of Narod and Kamir.

Jamlu of this place does not go to Malana, nor does that of Malana come here. The Malana people come here on *pheri*. They assemble here, disperse to different villages and assemble again at Chhani. They stay here four days. The villagers give grains, measuring ten to fifteen *pathas* on special occasions. Earlier Jamlu had land here. The land was given on *gha'd* and half of the produce went to Malana.

Phagli, *jetha* and *konha* are celebrated here. At Malana the *devta* comes out one day early. But in all the other eleven *deoghars* the *devta* comes out one day late and the rule is the same in all the *deoghars* as is in Malana. The festivals are all those of Malana. Vir Puja and Konhi Phagli are held in *Chait*. Shaunh jatar is celebrated for five days in the month of *Sawan*.

Chhani, Katrain

Jamlu at Chhani is called *bada deo*. Kuber and Renuka also reside here. *Nale-ka-devta* (*devta* of ravine) is his sepoy. Than *devta* is the lord of manor. Jamlu came here from Jagatsukh with the *panditas*. Slowly the number of families of the *panditas* increased to sixty. But later on they were reduced to nil. When he came here Jamlu had no land. Before the implementation of the tenancy Act it had 250 *bighas*. Jamlu has a *bhandar* and two *marhs*, one for the zamindars and the other for the lower section. Jamlu comes out four times in a year, on the occasions of: 1. Shaunh jach, 2. Magghar, 3. Phagli jethi, 4. Phagli konha.

The Malana people come here once in a year, in the month of December-January. Earlier they used to come 40-50 persons. Now they come 10-15 and this year they were 8-10 persons. They stay for one day. Every family gives four to five kilograms

of maize. Earlier they used to give paddy and wheat. Now people don't sow these grains. Some families also give cash.

Jamlu of Malana does not come here nor the Jamlu of Chhani goes there. When it is taken out, *khanda* and *dhadhchh* are taken along with other articles. *Kadahi* (cauldron) is taken which is carried by two men. Chhani is among the twelve *deoghars*. The *karmishth* of Chhani enumerates *deoghars* as: 1. Hamta, 2. Malana, 3. Jagatsukh, 4. Rumsu, 5. Soel, 6. Koodung, 7. Burua, 8. Badagraon, 9. Shangchar, 10. Chhani, 11. Dhara (Fojjal), 12. Neri (beyond Fojjal).

Tosh

In Tosh, situated at the end of the Manikaran valley, there are about seventy houses out of which about ten belong to those of the lower caste. It is said that there is no Brahmin family here, there is none above Manikaran. The village was burnt wholly a few years back and this fact is evident from the thin and weak wooden supports viz. beams, pillars, frames, etc. used in the construction of the existing houses. Jamlu here was brought stolen from Malana. There is Renuka, his wife, with a temple for her. Jamlu has a *dehra* and a *bhandar*. There is no *gur*. Exceptionally, it has a *rath* and *mohra*, like other gods of Kullu. The office-bearers are *pujari*, *dhamari* (a term met with only here), i.e. assistant to the *pujari*, and a *kardar*. There are fourteen workers, who come from fourteen houses, by turn from each house annually. It owns about twelve *bighas* of land, or could be more. Two festivals of Jamlu, Phagli (birthday of Jamlu of Malana) and *Bhadon*, on the same day as in Malana, are celebrated here.

It pays visit to Malana which has now become a part of history for the last about twenty years. When Jamlu of Malana visits Rudarnag, about two kilometres from Tosh, for ritual bathing, he halts here for three days. The methods of the *puja* and pronouncing of *Bhartha* are the same as that of Jamlu of Malana. In the lifetime of sixty years of the present *pujari*, he says he has not seen this even for once.

There is a kettle made of silver called *pa'-ig*, like that in Malana, in which the statues of horses are kept and brought out in the Phagli for display to the public. When the original vessel was destroyed in the fire, it was manufactured again here but the image of horse was brought from Malana as they possess it in plenty. Jamhu of Tosh goes to Malana, but periodicity is not fixed.

Koodung, the Thirteenth Deoghar

Koodung is known as the thirteenth *deoghar*. The village is divided into two divisions of Dhara Behad and Saura Behad. It is said that the village was washed away in the flood alongwith Palchan and Majhach. Khindu Bhagat came from Burua crossing the river in flood even when there was no bridge and founded the village again. He brought Jamlu from Burua and established the *deoghar* here. Jamlu has a temple and *bhandar*. Renuka has a *dehri* in which a *mohra* is kept, but none has seen it. Khindu Bhagat is a popular name in the folk tradition in this area. He is a historical person. He belonged to Burua to the period c. 19th century CE and was a rich man. He invested his income for the welfare of the people.

Jamlu, Kamir and Renuka are propitiated here. Khodu *devta* is Jamlu's assistant. There is a large walnut tree near the place of Jamlu which is said to be around 300 years old or may be even older. Earlier there lived a *naga* who was washed away in the flood and escaped at Raison where he is now propitiated as Banogi Nag. Prashar *devta* was established here about twenty-five years back. The story of the *devtas* gives indication to the successive development of the cultures in the area. Khodu *devta* perhaps belongs to the most primitive period and the Naga to the next. Thereafter came Jamlu and lastly Prashar.

Jamlu of Koodung goes to Malana, when there is *sutra* (thread) ceremony. All the officials and the *deoghari* (*ha'r*) go there. Jamlu of Malana comes once in a year. Last time he came more than twenty years back. Jamlu has no *rath*, but has a *khanda*. The officials of Jamlu here are: *gur*, *pujari*, *kardar*,

khajanchi (*kathiiala*), *kuthari*, *bhandar* and the *barah bari* (twelve workers). They change every year. In Prini a term *deoghri* is used for *bari*. Jamlu does not go to attend the Dussehra festival.

The *bari* from Malana come on *kora* or *phera* once in a year and they are welcomed by burning of *dhoop* (incense). They come in group of seven persons which include *gur*, *pujari*, *jetha bari*, *karmishth*, etc. Earlier their group constituted 40 to 50 persons and still earlier it was even around 120. Here they are served meal for three times, two on the day they reach from Jagatsukh and one the next day in the morning when they leave for Majhach. They also offer an icon of horse of silver equivalent to the weight of four *anna* coin, on behalf of the god. Koodung itself does not give any *grahi* (collection) nor Majhach and Burua. The villagers of Koodung make *grahi* from Shangchar. They actually made *grahi* upwards from Badagran on the right side of the Beas and Haripur on the left bank. This is because they were poor. The Malanis first come at Rumsu where they have a *bhandar* (store) where they store their *grahi*. Next they come to Jagatsukh.

Hawai and Shiyah

There is a Jamlu or Jamdagni in both the villages but before 1962 there was only one. Both have temples in pagoda style and *bhandars* in *kot* style in which *khanda*, *mohras* and musical instruments are kept. They have temples dedicated to Renuka in *desi* style. It is said that the *devta* belongs to Malana. Once a *sadhu* came to the village. After meditating for some days, he disappeared. A villager had a *khel* (play), that is he had a spirit possessed upon him, and he revealed that he was Jamdagni Rishi of Malana. The villagers established him in the village and constructed *mohras*, *rath* and a temple. They keep visiting Malana from time to time and bring some articles like icons of horse, while coming, as a token from Malana (Kalpana Thakur, 2005: 37-39).

Sees

The village of Sees is said to have been originally inhabited by a people of the class called *chanal*, who propitiated a *devta* named Surajpal. He is still commemorated at a *thauda* over a rock, but has no *dehra* or *rath*. Jamlu came here from Malana with an immigrant family named Dhandhal. He has a *dehra*, a *kothi* or *bhandar* and *rath*. He owns land. There is a temple of Renuka. The *devta* owns articles which were brought from Malana and are displayed on special occasions, like festivals (Mohar Singh Thakur, 2005: 24-31).

Peej

The Jamlu of Peej was born in the village itself and owns an impressive temple structure in the pagoda style. Renuka or Narod is not propitiated here. The *devta* has *rath* and attends Dussehra festival. There are three statues of horse in the temple in standing position about six inches high. About five to ten persons go to Malana every year but none comes here from there. There are three *joginis* who accompany the *devta* in the procession. They have a small common *rath* called *Jagnah* or *cheenhtsi* and all the three have one woman *gur* each. One of them i.e. Baryagnhi is said to have come from Spiti. They also believe that the Jamlu of Malana has come from Spiti. The term *bari* is not in use here.

Badagran

In Badagran there are Jamlu, Sinhasni Devi, Veernath, Kaulu Veer, all the four having *raths*. Shiv, Kali Mata, Kuber have *sthan* (place).

Jamlu of Deoghar and Other Jamlus

Every village where there is Jamlu claims itself as a *deoghar*. There are instances where some *deoghars* allege that the others are not true *deoghars*. Even though we have enumerated the essential features of a *deoghar* above, it is difficult to distinguish between the real and others. An informed person says that all the villages where there is Jamlu are equal.

Villages of Jamlu

Here we give names of the villages where Jamlu resides: 1. Badagath, 2. Barshai, 3. Burua, 4. Bhengkhri, 5. Barshaini, 6. Badagaon or Badagran, 7. Baharka, 8. Bashkola, 9. Bandal, 10. Batahar, 11. Baladhi, 12. Bari, 13. Baga, 14. Chowki, 15. Chhalal, 16. Chhani, 17. Chajogi, 18. Chhani Khod, 19. Dwara, 20. Dhara (Fojjal), 21. Dephari (above Pangan), 22. Dobhi, 23. Devati, 24. Gajan, 25. Gadgi, 26. Hamta, 27. Himri, 28. Hawaii, 29. Hallan, 30. Jagatsukh, 31. Jana, 32. Jayandi, 33. Karjan, 34. Kharon in *kothi* Malana, 35. Koodung, 36. Kalwari, 37. Kotadhar, 38. Kashehri, 39. Katagra, 40. Majhach, 41. Malana, 42. Neri (beyond Fojjal), 43. Pulag, 44. Fojjal, 45. Peej (Darpoin), 46. Palchan, 47. Prini, 48. Plaich, 49. Pulga, 50. Pashi, 51. Parain, 52. Poojan, 53. Rashol, 54. Riyara, 55. Rumsu, 56. Ruar, 57. Roonhga, 58. Shegadi, 59. Sana-Soyal, 60. Shah, 61. Shakeri, 62. Shauran, 63. Soyeel, 64. Sidhpur (Shangchar), 65. Sees, 66. Saura, 67. Saman, 68. Sati, 69. Sakho Sah in Sisa, 70. Shakohri, 71. Sokhnhi, 72. Thaudi Aage, 73. Tosh, 74. Tapri, 75. Tandla (near Jana), 76. Urasoo.

The above list cannot be said to be complete.

13

Jamlu and the Emperor Akbar

There are number of instances associating Jamlu's name with Islamic faith or practices. Akbar is said to have presented him a statue of his own. The name Jamlu itself is believed to have originated from some similar Mohammedan name and certain practices found with Jamlu are attributed to Muslim faith.

In Soyal it is told that the *gur* speaks in a Muslim language and the god is descended from a Muslim Raja named Jamal Fatah who was very generous and religious. Similarly it is told in Shangchar that the name Jamlu has originated from Jamal Fatah, a Mohammedan ruler, which later on corrupted to Jamdagni. G.M. Young gathers and records at one place that Jamlu is Jaimal Khan, a Mughal General. Yet some others like Pankaj reject this theory of Islamic content in its entirety taking it as unfounded.

The story of Jamlu's relation with Akbar is well-known. Several versions of the narration may be heard in Kullu. In the most popularly known story, it is told that once a *sadhu* came to Malana and he was given two *taka* (two *paise*) in alms from the treasury of *devta* Jamlu. When the *sadhu* reached Delhi, the coins were recovered from him as tax by the tax collectors of the Emperor Akbar and were deposited in the treasury of the Badshah. Soon the Badshah started feeling uneasiness and had sleepless nights. Some others tell the story slightly differently.

Then the fortunetellers were consulted who told that there is a *devta* named Jamlu in the Ultrakhand, from whose account two *taka* coins are deposited in the treasury of the Badshah. This trouble of the Badshah will subside only when these coins are returned to the original owner. On the same night the Badshah saw in his dream the two coins in his treasury stuck together. Akbar sent special messengers carrying the coins and offerings to the *devta*. He also sent a golden statue of himself which the *devta* accepted and kept with himself. Since then the statue and the two *khandas* (swords) of the *devta* are seen together and are worshipped (Prarthi: 240-46).

The old Gazetteer records the story in the manner that Akbar was stricken with leprosy because his tax-gatherers took two *pice* from a *sadhu* who was found roaming there in the bazaar. The coins were miraculously found in Akbar's treasury stuck together. Akbar was then told to take them to Malana, but was allowed to send them, with a statue of himself in gold and images of horses and elephants in gold and silver. On their arrival Jamlu was placated, and the king's leprosy ceased. This incident is re-enacted at Malana every year on the twelfth of *Phagan*.

A more pragmatic description is offered by the *pujari* of Jamlu of Badagran. He says that Kullu was under the rule of Akbar, the Mughal Emperor. He levied tax of two *taka* on Jamlu. But this income did not suit the Raja and he suffered from leprosy. He had to return the coins along with lot of gifts to Jamlu as a repentance for the offence. He also sent a statue in silver of his own.

G.M. Young, who visited Malana, narrates the story gathered from the village in the manner that, a certain *sadhu* came to Malana on a pilgrimage in the reign of Akbar, and in accordance with the custom which still prevails he was given on his departure a blanket and a small sum of money from Jamlu's treasury. When he reached Delhi, part of the sacred money was taken from him on his entrance into the city by the octroi collectors in payment of poll tax, which happened to be the form of exaction. The act of sacrilege did not escape Jamlu's notice even

at that distance. Very shortly afterwards the Emperor was stricken with leprosy. Dimly aware that supernatural agencies were at work, he consulted first of all his *mullahs* who were unable to help him. Thereupon, say the Malana people, he turned to the *brahmans*, as indeed the broad minded and probably disparate Akbar would doubtless have done in the circumstances. The *brahmans* soon told him exactly what had happened and the name of the god who was afflicting him. They assured him that until the sacred money was found and returned to Jamlu's treasury of Malana, there would be no hope of recovery from the disease. Akbar asked how much money had been taken from the *sadhu*. The *brahmans* told him that so far as their information meet it was two *pice*. To his protest that it would be impossible to identify two *pice* out of the whole of his Imperial treasury, the *brahmans* replied that it might be so, but that in view of his present predicament it seemed at least worth while to make an attempt. Akbar accordingly turned out his treasury, and the two *pice* were found miraculously stuck to one another among the coins. The Emperor must now, the *brahmans* said, make a pilgrimage to Malana and restore the coins to Jamlu's temple in person. For Akbar the journey from Delhi to Malana in winter would have been a long and strenuous undertaking, and meanwhile his throne and empire had to be looked after. Someone, however, suggested that it might be equally efficacious to send expensive images of the monarch and his retinue to Malana instead. The *brahmans* agreed that it might. So Akbar caused a statue of himself to be carved in gold and images of his horses and his elephants in gold and silver and sent them with a deputation to Malana. On their arrival Jamlu was placated, and the king's leprosy ceased.

Harcourt says, "I learnt their priests have in one of the temples a gold image, which there can be very little doubt was presented to them by the Emperor Akbar, who, as narrated by Abul Fuzl, visited Bajour, i.e., Bajour and Malauna. At any rate, the villagers positively assert that the Emperor did give them this token of his regard; but whether it was as they say, a likeness of himself, an image, or merely a gold coin with his effigy on it I am not

now able to find out" (Harcourt, 1871: 94-95).

The statue was displayed annually in the grand ceremony of Phagli, but there is some debate among the scholars about the object which was actually exhibited and worshipped and also the metal of which it was composed. The early European writers believed that Akbar's statue is worshipped in the Phagli. Harcourt's account, as above, in this respect is the earliest. Lyall says, "in the Malana temple, there is a silver image of an elephant, with a figure in gold on its back, said to have been presented by the Emperor Akbar. Kulu men who think their prayers have been heard sometimes present small silver horses or elephants to the shrine" (Lyall, 1875: 100). Rose gathers, "golden image of an elephant which was presented by the emperor Akbar according to the tradition in recognition of an oracle revelation of the god that led to the cure of a deformity in the person of the emperor's daughter" (Rose, 1883, III: 266).

Bruce writes, "there are, I am told, little figures of local heroes in the Malana temple, including a representation of the Emperor Akbar the Great—a curious thing to find in a nominally Hindu temple. Of course their worship has little in common with the real Hinduism, of which the people are probably fondly ignorant."

About the statues displayed in the *mela*, Hugh Whistler tells, "on every anniversary of the action of tribute the scene is re-enacted at Malana, and the images are brought out from the treasury and carried in procession to a stone that marks the spot where Jamlu received the Emperor's messengers. But now in course of time confusion has arisen, and Akbar, the suppliant, is worshipped at the ceremony rather than the god to whom he came" (Hugh Whistler, 1924: 209).

G.M. Young discovered that, "from the tiny shrine near the scene of the March ceremony were produced several large and uncouth silver statuettes of horses, elephants and deer, a large silver umbrella of the kind used by Kulu deotas, a smaller one which was afterwards fitted into the back of a very large silver stag, and a bundle of the statuettes presented by Akbar, from

which was taken the image of Akbar, of silver or gilt, about four inches high, and twelve more very small images of horses and elephants."

Noticeably this story of Akbar-Jamlu relationship does not appear in the description of the Anonymous author (Annexure I) although most of the other details in it agree with those of the other writers and those found in the legends. However he maintains the Muslim relationship of Jamlu by a different instance. The old Gazetteer does not make mention of any statue rather it says that an edifice has been built for the custody of a golden image of an elephant, which was presented by the Emperor Akbar, according to the tradition, in recognition of an oracular revelation of the god that led to the cure of a deformity in the person of the emperor's daughter (Gazetteer, 1899, II: 50-51).

G.M. Young says that the statue was made of either silver or gilt. The same view exists in Badagran. Although none could identify as to whom the statue represented. The vehicle on which the figure rides, according to Young, is a stag, whereas according to others it was an elephant. It may be gathered that most of the authorities like Harcourt, Lyall, G.M. Young etc. admit that a statue was displayed in the Phagli which practice perhaps continued probably upto the first quarter of the 20th century. The practice must have been discontinued sometime thereafter. At present the statue is not displayed. But a large figure of stag, among others, is displayed over which an umbrella, as described by Young above, is placed. About the other figures some informants say that they are the (figures of) army of Akbar. Performances of such themes of late origin in the cultural practices of the ancient Malana are difficult to explain.

The method of slaughtering of sacrificial sheep for Jamlu is another such instance. Lyall remarks, "he is sometimes said to be a Muhammedan for no reason, however, except that sheep or goats, sacrificed to him have throats cut, in the Muhammedan, as opposed to the Hindu style of cut. On this account the other deotas and devis, with the exception of the

Prini Devi who is supposed to be his sister, shun all intercourse, with him as an outcaste" (Lyall, 1875: 100). Rose writes that, "the sheep and goats sacrificed at the fairs are slaughtered in a style resembling that followed by Mohammedans rather than the Hindu fashion, and this has given rise to a belief in some parts of Kulu that the deota is a Musalman."

Thus the particular method of sacrificing sheep in the *deoghars* is attributed to Mohammedan system and is sometimes called *halal*. In the compound in the premises belonging to a Jamlu, in one of the *deoghars*, there is a pit covered with a large stone-slab which is called *khalanhi*. There, once in a year a sheep is sacrificed on the occasion of Phagli. As the sheep is offered and sacrificed, its breast, as it is told, is slashed and *kokri-bookey* (heart and kidney) are taken out. They call this as *halal*. The *kardar* says that the sacrifice is made to Akbar. Another informer says that this sacrifice is made for Jamlu's *guru*, but appears to have been done for Akbar. It appears that the two informants are following two different traditions of the contact with the Mohammedan culture, while explaining the same event. The former follows the general trend and the second one that of the Anonymous author. It is also said in Malana that, "a ram is sacrificed in such a way in which the chest of the animal is cut open and the heart is taken out" (Krishan Kumar, 2007: 82). At places such sacrifices are offered to the 'Badshah.'

In the descriptions above, except one, it may be observed that in practice sacrifice is effected by slashing the chest of the sacrificial animal, which cannot be termed truly as *halal*. In the kind of practice, it is said that a sheep's *kaleja* (lung) is extracted after piercing the chest. This would be a difficult and actually an impracticable task, and the desired objective cannot be fulfilled. Moreover if a lung is extracted, it would have been both the *kaleje* (lungs). Some people who have watched the scene, point to have seen a spherical thing, which is extracted. In one village it was informed that it is *kokri-bookey* (heart and kidney), which appears to be a more appropriate interpretation. Rather it could be only *kokri*. In any way they don't cut throat

of the sheep, and don't make *halal*.

Kullu, Central Asia and the Rulers of Delhi: A tradition of similar practice of the above mentioned method of slaughtering the goats and sheep as said to have been prevalent in some parts of Kullu, may be traced in the middle ages to Central Asia. In fact this is not actually a Mohammedan practice. It is an emperor's edict on the code of civil life and not touched by any religious dogma. Changez Khan, the Mongol Emperor, although himself an illiterate, had got prepared a set of rules called 'Yassa' for the guidance of his barbarous subjects. Among the bundle of about 22 odd rules, one of them says that "sawing the neck of the animal to be killed for meal is prohibited. After tying it up, its chest should be sliced and the hunter should then extract its *kaleja* (lung) with hand" (Rahul Sankrityayan, 1956, 1: 496). Practically in place of lung it should have been heart and again the mention of chest here seems a bit odd. This method was followed, most probably as an impact of the Changez Khan's proclamation, in a prominently Buddhist part of Lahul, as a normal practice of slaughtering sheep till about half a century back. But here in Lahul it is the 'heart' of the animal and not lungs which was extracted. After slashing the stomach near the chest, the heart was extracted piercing the soft membrane dividing the stomach and the chest. Perhaps it should have been heart, instead of lung, or lungs in the *yassa* of Changez Khana also. Moreover chest cannot be sliced or pierced. Rahul also writes that Taimur and his offspring Babur, even though being followers of Prophet Mohammed, kept the *Yassa* of Changez above the principles of Mohammed, in the matters of politics and war. The practice existing in Malana and some parts of Kullu appear to be carrying the tradition of some connection with the Central Asian wave of the middle ages in its history.

Mughal Rule: As regards the Mughal rule over Kullu, Hutchison and Vogel, authors on the history of Kullu, write that though no mention of the Mughal is found in the Chronicle, it is probable that Kullu, like most of the other Hill States, came

under Mughal Control in Akbar's reign. As an evidence they quote the instance of the association of the name of Akbar with the temple of god Jamlu in the village of Malana (Hutchison & Vogel, 1933, ii: 457). This must have been based on the proposition of Harcourt. As stated above Harcourt identifies Bajour, a reference in the work of Abul Fazl, with Bajour and Malauna, apparently for Bajaura in Kullu. Abul Fazl, if he actually does mention the name Bajaur somewhere in his work mentioned here must have done it for a different place, which is well-known to the historians, and not for Bajaura of Kullu. Therefore it is difficult to accept this as an evidence of Mughal rule over Kullu during the time of Akbar.

It is however said that some *farmans* or official letters were issued from the Mughal Court at Delhi between the Hijri years 1061 and 1068 (CE 1650 and 1658) to Raja Jagat Singh (CE 1637-1672) of Kullu. These were thirteen in number, twelve were issued under the seal of Dara Shikoh, and one in A.H. 1068 by Aurangzeb (Hiranand, 1990: 270). The subjects of the documents were the presents offered by the Rajas to the Badshah and about some incidents unrelated to the politics of Kullu. These only reveal some kind of relationship of Kullu with Mughal kings.

Shah Madar: There are instances of the presence of signs of Muhammedan culture in Kullu in another form. In this respect the Gazetteer notes that, "It is curious fact that in Jamlu's temples in the Beas valley (but not at Malana) sacrifice is made by Muhammedan methods to Shah Madar on the date of Jamlu's great festival at Malana. It is not known how the cult of this Musalman saint came into Kulu, but it may have been introduced in Mughal time" (Gazetteer, 1917: 71).

G.M. Young has gathered that, "in the Kulu valley many people believe him to have been a Muhammedan and point out that sacrifices to him are 'hallaed.' Mr. Fyson, the present Asstt. Commissioner in Kulu, tells me that in Jamlu's temple in the Kulu valley sacrifice is made on the 12th of Phagun in each year to Shah Madar, the saint of Madari sect. He has a small

number of followers in the Punjab and there are shrines to him among other places in Chamba" (Young, 1982: 174). He further says that Shah Madar is said to be regarded in Kulu as the *chela* of Jamlu. Young also gathers that the Malana people themselves do not however admit any Mohammedan connection.

The sporadic Islamic religious practices might have entered into Kullu through the Muslim missionary organizations. Sufi, the moderate Muslim organization, and the Hindu Nath were working in unison.

14

Jamlu and the Shag-tse of Spiti

In the legends narrating the origin of Jamlu, it is observed, that Spiti always falls on his way before reaching his future home Malana and his final settlement there. Similarly Jamdagni passes through Spiti on his pilgrimage to Kailash and Mansarovar or on his return. In Spiti village Hansa is shown in tradition having connection with Jamlu. Here there is a temple dedicated to a local god Da-lha Shag-tse whom people in Spiti and outside identify with Jamlu.

At Hamta, midway between the village of Prini and Hamta pass at the foot of the hill slope, there is a temple dedicated to Jamlu built in the style of temples of the *devtas* of Kullu with beautifully carved façade. In the courtyard hanging from the ropes tied between the *deodar* trees may be seen fluttering cloth streamers in numerous colours, imprinted with *mantras* in Bhoti. These signify the living tradition of veneration of the sacred place by the devotees from Spiti and it being the common place of reverence of people with different religious faith. Gautam Singh Rana, *gur* of Jamlu, of the place tells that devotees from Spiti come here once in a year. They belong to the villages of Hansa, Kyoto, Losar and Kyomo. It is the god of these villages and they know him as Shag-tse. People also come here from other places of Spiti.

Spiti and Kullu had some historical connections and the

tradition of Piti Thakurs is still a living legend in Kullu. Mr. Howell tells that from ancient times, the Spitiens had been in the habit of crossing the passes, and making inroads into Kullu and had formed settlements at the head of all the side ravines leading down into the main valley. Each of these settlements was controlled by a local officer or chief, called 'Piti Thakur' by the people of Kullu. One of these Thakurs, who enjoyed an evil reputation, lived in a fort, the remains of which are traceable on a spur above Jagatsukh. He is said to have had the habit of drinking human milk. And also to have performed human sacrifices. He had lieutenants who bore a reputation like his own; in fact these officers or chiefs held the approaches to the Hamta and Chanderkhani passes, and all the bye-paths by which they could be turned. Piti Thakur's place of worship was the Prini temple of the great god Jamlu at the foot of the approach to the Hamta pass, leading over from Jagatsukh to the Chandra valley. In this temple alone, and down to the present day, the Spiti men go to make offerings. All other races must take off their shoes in the temple precincts, but Spiti men go in fully shod, and when he is inspired, the local priest at the shrine speaks a language which he claims to be Tibetan. He also maintains that the god came from Bhotant (Tibet), Chin (China), or Pangu Padul, Mansarovar (Howell, 1918: 71). Bruce places these Piti Thakurs to 16th century CE and says that they never liked coming below an altitude of 10,000 feet.

Some traces of the ancient relationship of the Spitiens with Kullu may be found still existing in tradition in Kullu. A number of families are found settled in different villages in Kullu tracing their origin to Spiti. They are settled mostly in the upper Beas valley. The family of the present *pujari* of Jamlu at Prini is stated to have migrated from Spiti. Similarly the *pujari* of the Jagtham, brother of Jamlu, at Pangan, is stated to have come from Spiti. At Peej one of the three *joginis*, a *devi*, propitiated there, is said to have originated from Spiti, who also has a lady *gur*.

In Malana a story is told of an instance of ancient economic relationship between Malana and Spiti. It is said that there is a

cave named Oomrye Ru-a'rh situated somewhere on the line above Jagatsukh. The people from Spiti used to graze *biyangi* (the long-haired sheep of Jangthang) here and if they had any desire to sell a sheep, they would place some pieces of stones aside there. These pieces of stones indicated intention of selling the sheep and its cost. The men from Malana would place goods or money equal to the amount indicated by the number of pieces of stones and bring the sheep home.

Da-lha and Jamlu: At Hansa in Spiti there is a temple dedicated to Da-lha Shag-tse who has a statue which is identified with Jamlu and believed to be the same god as exists at Malana. There exist some practices in the tradition showing relationship between Jamlu of Malana and that of Spiti.

Da-lha is a pre-Buddhist ancient god. There are some oral literature existing about him. At many places he is now incorporated into the Lamaistic pantheon as well as in Bon. There are several prayer books and rites for propitiating him. In spite of this, he retains and lives in his distinct ancient form at many places viz. in Lahul, Kinnaur, etc. under the traditional name of Dabla. The association of the god with the important economic cycle of sowing and harvesting in Spiti points to his antique origin.

The god at Hansa presently has a new temple, called Lhakhang, of two storeys with a room assigned to him, in the ground floor. A statue of a glazing white male figure, holding a sword in his right hand and riding a white horse is installed here. He is also stated to be propitiated at Losar, Kyoto and Kyomo. These four villages, the people say, have common culture which is somewhat different from that of the rest of Spiti. Besides, it is said that this god is propitiated at Kye also. There was an old statue of Shag-tse which is not to be seen presently. In the earlier form the god is shown like a Central Asian warrior riding a horse with his right hand raised as if holding an armour. The appearance of the body is wholly like that of a warrior. The whole body from head to foot is covered with tightly worn dress: war coat, trousers and long boots and a helmet on the



Fig. 25. Da-lha Shag-tse: Jamlu of Spiti (Courtesy: O.C. Handa).

head. The modest statue was in earthen colour. The right hand is raised perhaps to hold lance, and the left hand holds the rein of the horse (Fig. 25). The god has a *labdag* (*lha-bdag*) (*pujari*) but is not active presently due to physical inability.

The god and his temple are now in charge of a lama *pujari* and whole set up is overwhelmed by Lamaism. Outside the Lhakhang, there is the old Lha-tho, a cairn, a raised stone structure overlaid with horns of animals and covered with large number of small pieces of cloth strips. This indicates to his folk and ancient origin. Such structures in the ancient tradition represent the local deities. It was informed in Spiti that the god is one among the nine brothers and Gepang of Lahul is his brother. But in Lahul there exists no such tradition. However, there is a story of immigration of a god from Kyuling in Spiti.

to Lahul who used to take human sacrifice there.

There is a tradition presently in practice here according to which it is believed that this god goes annually to Malana during the winter. Before the annual great seasonal affair of harvesting of crops and mowing of grass begins at the end of the summer, the god is worshipped. Thereafter the harvest operations begin. As soon as these activities are over it is said the god moves to Malana. On the way he stays one day at Zhiling khar. This place is shown at a place in the mountain opposite to a *thach* (resting ground) of Gaddi shepherd before reaching Chhota Dara, Phooti Rooni, from the side of Spiti. The next day he reaches Malana.

Sha-gtse comes back to Spiti in the spring, after spending the winter in Malana, before the agricultural operations start. He reaches on the seventh of the first month of Tibetan calendar (February-March) and halts in a cave named Thu-kug khar, a cave shown in the rocks on the mountain slope opposite to Hansa. On the next day, on the eighth, the people perform a worship ceremony to receive him. He is invited from the *khar* to the village with great *mchodpa* (prayer and offerings) and the occasion becomes like a festival. The whole village is involved in the affair. New clothes are worn and every family comes out with incense. Then he is installed in the temple afresh. On this occasion prayers are recited addressed to him. After this starts the sowing of the crops. These two events are annual features in the village.

The villagers of Hansa know him as *yul-lha*, country god. This fact is attested from the subject matter of the prayer also. He is god of enemy, not in the battle field, but he is enemy of the enemies of the people viz. pestilence, disease, drought, poverty, etc. A small prayer addressed to him appears to be of local origin, although it is not untainted by Buddhist ideals. This prayer is pronounced when the god returns from Malana in the spring after his winter sojourn there. Here is the translation of the former half of the local prayer.

Prayer to Da-lha Shag-tse: 'Oh Da-lha shag-tse, holding an

arrow, lance and sword, and riding a white horse, come to this land from the mansion at the *sumeru*. For honouring you, god Kalyan-mitra, we have conch shell, blow pipe of human bone, curtain of white silk, *phemar* (a mixture of *sampa* and *ghee*) and incense with pleasing smell. With all these objects we invite you, Oh god, Da-lha Shag-tse, who has subdued the demon enemy. Cut the roots of the enemy who weakens the promises. Blessings may be bestowed on us, everybody. Grant us blessings so that the year may be good, grains (crops) may flourish and there may be happiness and pleasure. The cattle may be healthy and the rain may fall from time to time. Da-lha Shag-tse, who protects our faith, saves the beings and the cattle from the diseases, may come. May the people be prosperous, happy and in pleasure.'

The prayer is an invitation to the god, calling him to their village from his divine mansion at the *sumeru*, of course actually stationed on the rocks in front of the village. People demand from him rain, flourishing crops, removal of diseases, in aggregate a good year. This is a common prayer wishing from a *yul-lha*, the country god. In the other prayer whose authorship is attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama, the god, although not differing in essential attributes, is depicted as a lord of war. Thus these are the examples of relationship between Jamlu of Malana and of Hansa.

15

Jamlu and the Gepang of Lahul

Lha Chhos (religion of gods) or the primitive folk religion, survives in Lahul prominently and is rooted deeply in the tradition. Gepang Lha is propitiated throughout the region of Lahul in Himachal Pradesh. He is also addressed as Raja (king). Gepang and Jamlu are known as brothers and the relationship of brotherhood between the two popular and powerful gods is maintained traditionally through the periodical, usually a space of twelve years, visit by Gepang from Lahul to Malana. Malana had a devastating fire incident in January 2008 and Gepang visited Malana in this year, even though he had visited only three years back in 2005.

The fact of the relationship between the two *devtas* and the tradition of periodical visit of Gepang to Malana was known to the European travellers. The old Gazetteer records that Gepang Lha who inhabits the high double peak in Lahul which looks down the Beas valley is Jamlu's brother. Narrating the tradition G.M. Young writes that Gepang is Jamlu's elder brother. Once a year this god is supposed to come across to a place in the Parbati valley, called Barshaini, where he has a temple and where he meets his brother Jamlu. Both gods then proceed to a place two miles distant and bathe together. Bruce says that Jamlu, in spite of his aloofness, apparently is not quite lonely, as he is a great friend of the god of 'Gaphan', who comes over once a year and spends some time with Jamlu in Malana. Penelope, although

she could not visit Malana actually, did not fail to take note of the fact.

From the statements given above, probably the only references on the subject by the European visitors and scholars, it appears that the information reaching them had not emanated from the original sources. No tradition about Gepang's visit to Barshaini is known and there is no sign of any temple of Gepang there, yet this statement cannot be rejected on this ground only. The second proposition that Gepang visited Malana annually, is really a very difficult enterprise to perform. *Kardar* of Jamlu of Shauran, remembers that during his lifetime of 64 years Gepang has visited the village four times only. Shauran is the first and an important halting stage for Gepang on his return journey from Malana.

The story of Gepang's immigration into Lahul is recited in a story in Lahul which is called 'La-ra' (= *lha-rabs*, History of gods) (Tobdan, 1979: 52-61; Tobdan and C. Dorje, 1996: 36-43). Besides, there are some more equally important stories existing in Lahul relating to the tradition. According to the legend Gepang came from the direction of Baralacha pass. In the way he had to struggle with the fiends, who were obstructing his way. Yet he was successful in bringing with him two valuable seeds of grain, one white and the other black, hiding in the hollow of a bamboo stick that he was carrying. From the white seed grew Ne (huskless barley) and from that of the black grew buckwheat. The practice of agricultural operations in Lahul began since then. These two crops constituted the staple diet of the Lahulis till recently.

Gepang's original residence is situated at Yangling, a lonely place about half a kilometre straight above Khwagling in the Chandra valley, where there is a small shrine dedicated to him. Presently a new *lha-khang* (shrine) two-storeys high, has been constructed in 1979 at Sra-srin. Khwagling and Sra-srin are situated close to each other on either side of the Sissu Nala. The former lies on the side of Khoksar and the latter towards Tandi. These two places are presently known as Sissu and Shashin respectively. To the outsiders Sissu also signifies both these villages

together. Gepang is represented by the statue of a head of a horse, a recent creation. The officials of the *devta* are *gur*, *pujari* (who is hereditary), *phah* (also a *pujari*) and two *dragdi* (musicians). *Phah* comes occasionally when the *devta* is out on a journey. His duty is to prepare *markyemtsi* (idol of sheep from ghee), as an offering to the god and performs the rite which is repeated several times in the day. In his absence the *pujari* also can perform this job. The present *gur* of Gepang belongs to Lohar (blacksmith) family. Although he has no social problem in Lahul, he has to follow the social norms of the areas, outside Lahul. While visiting Malana Gepang goes only with its parasol and not in its dressed *rath* (vehicle). The *char* (beam) which forms the basis of the *rath* is cut at Malana, is decorated there and then brought to Lahul. We are aware of some of the dates of Gepang's earlier visits to Malana. In the last century he visited first in 1905 or thereabout. Then it was resumed after a long gap in 1970. The tradition was reset and the process has become regular. The next journeys were performed in 1984, 1994, 2005 and the latest in July 2008. It may be observed that the acknowledged principle of periodicity of twelve years is not followed in these visits. These journeys are performed mostly in the month of July. In 2005 the journey started on July 21 and in 2008 it started on July 18. This journey takes minimum of seventeen days, outward journey of seven days, three days stay at Malana and then return journey of seven days. However the return journey gets extended as the *devta* goes on feasts on the invitation of the devotees on the way, who are settled in Kullu from Lahul.

The route of the journey and the places of halt are customarily fixed. As it has been stated above that after 1905 the journey was performed after a gap of long time. There was no person in the team who could lead through the exact path at every place in the year 1970, although the rough route was known to many among them. It is told that at places where the traditional path could not be ascertained, Gepang himself came forward to show the path and lead the party. In the journey, *Athara Nag* (the Eighteen Serpent gods) from Marbal and *Hidimba* from Jahalma

in Lahul also accompany Gepang. Their parasols and some other articles were brought. These two, a god and a goddess, are the legacies of the Kullu Raj in Lahul. Tangjar of Pyukar does not come himself but his *gur* accompanies Gepang's entourage. There was the *gur* of Milang-tete, another god, from Gondhla.

One way journey from Sissu to Malana measures around 136 kilometres in which come the two high passes of Rohtang and Chanderkhani. The most difficult days of the journey are the two days while crossing these two passes. Gepang's pace of walking is generally fast. Below we give names of the halting places during the journey of 2008 with approximate height from the sea level in metres.

Name of the place	Height (m)
<i>In Lahul</i>	
Kyelang	3150
Gramphug (Khoksar)	3140
Sissu	3130
Rohtang pass	3979
<i>In Kullu</i>	
Manali	2100
Chhaki Nala (National Highway)	1750
Chanderkhani pass	3650
Soyal	2200
Pulag	2330
Malana	2644

Night halts were made after Sissu at Khoksar, Koodung, Dhungri, Khakhnal, Soyal, Pulag and Malana. It appears that the detour of Gushal and Dhungri, the seats of the powerful spirits of *Athara Nag* and *Hidimba* of Kullu, were later additions in the itinerary of Gepang. Gepang for this part of his journey has to cross the Beas. Formerly Gepang's route must have been confined to the left side of the Beas. On his return ritual journey, he does not cross the Beas, he may do so for other reasons.



Fig. 26. Gepang: Performing the rites over Chanderkhani.

Below are given the approximate distances between the places of halt in kilometres.

Name of the place	Distance (km)
Sissu to Gramphug	21
Gramphug to Rohtang pass	13
Rohtang to Koodung	30
Koodung to Dhungri	15
Dhungri to Khakhnal	12
Khakhnal to Soyal	15
Soyal to Pulag	20
Pulag to Chanderkhani	5
Chanderkhani to Malana	5

The body, vehicle of Gepang, is called *char*. Its base is a long wooden beam of around twenty feet. The body is adorned from head to the tail with numerous colourful cloth strips which hang down from the beam. The head is rounded and the silver parasol is attached with it. Here the *srog* (heart), some call it *khyung*,

also is kept concealed. Along the beam another small bar is attached which represents Zang-dulma, mother of Gepang. At the tail a small wooden piece like a baton is stuck through a hole so that two persons on each side can carry by gripping the handle on their respective sides.

Gepang goes to Malana only with his parasol. At Malana a new *char* is constructed for Gepang. His *char* in Lahul is obtained from the jungle at Gadi Lumpa, between Kwaring and Satingri. At Malana for getting his *char* the people from Malana and the officials of Gepang go for cutting the tree in the morning from a jungle which is said to be of Gepang himself. It is situated about two kilometres away from the village on way to Jari. This forms the large face of the precipitous ridge which has to be climbed on the way from Jari to Malana before reaching Malana. There are trees of pine and *shugpa/shur* (juniper) spread in an area of several hectares. Juniper, of course, belongs to the high altitude climate of Lahul. This is found only in this portion of the jungle in such a large quantity in Malana and nowhere in Kullu. For *char* of Gepang only juniper is used. We cannot say whether this variety of the tree has been planted here specially or it has grown naturally. The former case is more probable and it must have happened several hundred years ago, since there are number of large trees of juniper there in a large tract.

Some methods for the selection of a tree for *char* that traditionally might have been followed are suggested. In the first method it is told that when the woodcutters reach the jungle they sprinkle water in all the directions. Then a tree wishing to go to Lahul tosses its tip slightly which is then selected for the purpose. After the usual rites the tree is cut. In another method it is told that three trees are cut and brought from the jungle. After the dressing the three beams are placed together on the ground and then one of them gets separated itself which is chosen for the *char*. In actual practice, a lamp made of wheat flour containing oil and wick, and smeared with vermillion is brought and lighted and then randomly selected tree is cut after performing the usual rites.



Fig. 27. Officials of Jamlu and the Gepang on the Harcha.

With the main beam, two more branches are also cut. The other one is a small beam for the mother of Gepang, which is tied together with the main beam. Another one is for supporting the head of the *rath* when the body is placed to rest. After clearing the beam of branches and cutting roughly to the required size it is brought to the village and kept in the compound of the *marhang*. Here it is slashed and dressed to a beam with uniform and smooth girth. It was fourteen and half cubit, equal to twenty-one feet and nine inches. The girth of the beam could be measured one foot and two and half inches at both the ends. By mid-day the beam is ready and is handed over to the men of Gepang. They begin dressing and adorning by tying scarves of different colours. The parasol is also fixed with the beam, which forms the head of the vehicle. The fully adorned vehicle becomes ready by the mid of the next day, the third day of reaching at Malana. Fully dressed and adorned *char* now goes on procession and visits the important sacred places of the village. Here again it is the responsibility of the people of Malana to carry the vehicle. The work is fixed by the Committee of the village. In the upper portion of the village, i.e. Dhara Behad, the people

from this zone carry the *rath* and in the lower portion of the village, Saura Behad, the people of the same zone carry the *rath*.

Gepang's journey started from Sissu on July 18. Including all the officials there were 34 persons with the *devta* at the beginning of the journey. It was to start at seven in the morning. The rain delayed the journey which started at about seven in the morning. After light shower for about an hour there was heavy rain which stopped by nine. The journey started at 11.30. after Kalchor, the traditional custom of farewell by offering the native breweries of *chhang* (beer) and *arag* (wine), etc. by the villagers of Shashin. At Yan-darag or Kuth Behali, on the way people offered tea and light food. The settlement is new, of the 20th century. There are about ten families out of which three are from Sumnam in Kinnaur. In the evening we stopped at Khoksar. The journey was not very long and the climb was light. The whole route lay along the highway. Gepang has its own premises and stayed there in the open. The villagers served tea and refreshment. The first village of Lahul which one comes across while travelling from Kullu is Khoksar. This village is seen on the opposite side of the river as one climbs down the Rohtang pass. The next village, situated on the highway across the river, which one comes across after crossing the bridge, is Gramphug. Officially as well as generally this is known as Khoksar. The local people know it as Gramphug.

As this time Gepang was visiting after a very short gap, the *gur*, Sonam Tashi, tells that Gepang said, "I want to go to Malana. I am going there to express my sympathy." On the day on which the journey was to start the *devta* desired that once he reached Malana, he will not come back from there. Then the *gur* was consulted and everybody begged excuse from the *devta*. Then he agreed and said, I will do as you like. Earlier also once he had returned from the mid way. Prakash aged 35 years is *phah*. He went to Malana first time in 2005. He prepares *markyemtsi*, of ghee of about half a kg and offers to the *devta*. Today it was done by the chief *pujari*. The office is hereditary.

On 19th after having tea we started at six o'clock to climb up Rohtang. There was light rain which continued till we reached at the top. There was biting cold at the top. The ex-Pradhan of Palchan was waiting. He has got constructed a compound here near the small shrine of Gepang. The *devtas* and the officials of the gods, after the usual rites, took three rounds of circumambulation of the little shrine. Notably the direction of the round taken was anticlockwise. Taking the short and steep bridle-path, the old beaten route, the party climbed down to Rahla and then to Palchan. From the top of Rohtang pass we entered into the territory of Kullu district and all our further travel is situated within Kullu till we reach back at this point. After a short stay and light refreshment, we reached Koodung the village of Jamlu and Prashar *devta*. *Gurs* of both the *devtas* alongwith their full musical band were standing in reception. Performances of the *devta* lasted for a few hours. All the *gurs* danced with their usual weapons and articles. Then they danced in pairs one of Koodung and another from Lahul. The *gur* of Gepang danced separately alone. The performances were attractive and the whole village and many from distant places had come to watch the scene. It ended at about nine o'clock and then there was heavy rain. We were here divided among the villagers two or three to each house for meal and stay in the night. This is the usual method of arrangement for those accompanying a *devta*. In Kullu *devtas* are frequently visiting each other's villages. My host, a young lady seemed to be rational. She had some doubt over the performances of some of the *gurs*. According to her, if a *gur* is in real trance he sheds perspiration. He is under deep stress and is tense.

On the 20th we moved further at 11 o'clock after the ritualistic farewell which was spectacular. Crossing the Beas at Bahang visited the temple of Bhandal Devi, mother of the famed eighteen serpent gods of Kullu (Athara Nag) in Goshal. Here the reception was given with musical band of the goddess. In the evening we reached Dhungri, the place of Hidimba Devi, the famed goddess of Kullu. Reception was given with the band of music. Sacred dance was held in the evening as well as in the

morning, similar to that at Koodung.

On the 21st we were at Khakhnal. Gepang firstly went to the temple of Parvati, thereafter came to that of Kartikeya, who was in dress and was in *jap* (meditation) for the last two days. This was the only occasion when the host *devta* was out in this form. It may, however, be noted that no Jamlu whose place came on the route has any *rath* (vehicle). Gepang stayed beside Kartikeya in his *dehra* (shrine). Next day, the third day, was the last day of the ritual. In the afternoon the *jap* of Kartikeya was over and a community lunch was served from the side of the villagers. After the ritual performances farewell was given. Staying occasionally at places in the way for tea and snacks on the invitation of the people, we reached Soyal. Large number of people were waiting here. Jamlu and Parvati are the deities of the village. Meeting of the *devtas* was held. Gepang visited the sacred places. Here Gepang has a spot allotted to him and has a *thauda* (platform) under a big *deodar* tree in the premises of the Jamlu. *Devtas* had pronouncements. People were expecting the usual performances of the host and the guest *devtas* but due to some reason this did not happen and the people must have been disappointed. There was a common meal from the villagers for dinner. The guests were distributed for *kheend* among the villagers.

Taking leave, the journey started in the morning on 23rd. We got down to Haripur on the main road where Gepang visited the temple of Vishnu. At Chhaki Nala after crossing the bridge the journey started straight up. We soon reached Rumsu. The villagers placed an important question before Gepang and expected answer. It is said that there was a dissension between Jamlu of Malana and Narayan *devta* of Rumsu who had visited Malana recently. Thereafter there was the devastating fire incident in Malana. The *devta* had pronounced that when Gepang comes he will reveal the truth. Presently Gepang kept himself silent and was indifferent to the question. After some time he moved and made demarcation of his place here. Some of his vacant place was brought under unauthorized construction. Gepang

had a *thauda* here as he has in the villages on the way, which was also presently missing. We reached Pulag in the evening. There reception was given by the band of musicians of Jamlu of the village. Gepang went to the sacred spot of Jamlu under a big tree and returned to the *marh*. There was community meal and the guests were distributed for *kheend*. In the morning the hosts gave packed lunch for the Chanderkhani pass.

The climb to Chanderkhani pass, on the next day, was long, steep and difficult. Officials of the *devtas* were on fast and had to reach the pass empty stomach from Pulag. These were four *gurs*, two *bhats*, four *pujaris* and two *dragdis*. There was a ritual performance over the Chanderkhani pass where there is a small mound which possibly could have been a platform built of stone. Stone pillars are raised round it. After the meal was over the journey started downwards. The path was steep. From here there are two roads for reaching Malana. One is steeper than the other and ponies can go through only one route. The residents of Malana were standing on the border of the village for reception of Gepang with the large band of musical instruments which numbered more than thirty. There was ritualistic reception. The *devtas* and their officials were stationed in the *marhang* and others were distributed for *kheend*.

On the morning of 25th the people of Malana went to the jungle and brought a beam and the *char* was ready by the midday. Then it was handed over to the men of Gepang who immediately started adorning it with scarves of varying colours. The task was over by the midday of the next day on 26th. After the usual *puja* and offerings Gepang moved to visit the holy places in the village.

The return journey was to start on 27th at seven in the morning. There was heavy rain and it stopped at about nine o'clock. There was dense fog. After ritualistic farewell the journey started upward to Chanderkhani pass. The *devta* was carried by the youth from Malana upto Chanderkhani top. This time 16 youths were able to carry the vehicle in five hours, whereas last time in 2005 twenty young men took two and half hours for

completing the same task. From Chanderkhani pass it is carried by the youth from the village of Shauran, near Naggar, where it halts for the night. They reached here at nine in the night. Here Gepang has a place of his own. On the return journey there is slight change in the route and the stages of rest. The stages after Malana are: 1. Shauran, 2. Khakhnal, 3. Koodung, 4. Ruar-Palchan, 5. Gramphug, 6. Yangling, and 7. Sissu. From Palchan the youth of the village take the *rath* upto the top of Rohtang. Then the youth of Gramphug come and carry the *rath* upto there.

Some References to Lahul in the Cultural Practices of Kullu

Phagli at Tosh: At village Tosh, Phagli *mela* is held in the month of *Phagun*. Eight days after this, a *devi* who is said to have been married to Gepang is departed to Lahul after the *puja*. This is done every year. Name is not known. She goes every year from Tosh in the month of *Maggar*.

Phagli in Soyal: A reference to Lahul comes again in the Phagli *mela* at village Soyal. It is told that six months before the Phagli the *devtas* go to Kedarnath. There they have secret conference, and make merriment. They think of the welfare of the world. They gamble and the one who loses in the game becomes sick. Then they come from there and the doors of the temple are opened. Vishnu and Shiva have come victorious from Kedarnath, others have been vanquished. It is said that in the Phagli a goddess named Timar Chhachi comes from Lahul and acts as chief judge in the court of Jamdagni. She is the chief guest during the period of five days of Phagli. On the fifth day she is departed to Lahul. The sisters, daughters married outside from this village come to offer *roat* (big chapatti) to the goddess Renuka in her temple. Then the new year starts. The *pandita* foretells about the happenings likely to occur during the coming year. In Pini village there is a bell named Laura-ghond (*ghanti*, bell from Lahul), an important object, which is kept wrapped in iron chains and is exhibited in the *mela* of *Sawan*. It forms the central figure of the celebrations of the *mela*.

16

Emerging Trends

Malana has lived for long peacefully and undisturbed. It kept itself unattached with any outside people or society. Every resident was conscious of the ancient and high ideal of their society. Strangers to the village were required to follow certain norms of behaviour set by the villagers. The enormous changes that have taken place in the country during the past more than sixty years after the Independence have bypassed Malana quietly. The government also seemed avoiding interference in the affairs of the village as far as possible. To the outside world they were mysterious.

Physically even though their habitat was situated at a remote and inaccessible place, the people were much mobile in their traditional way of living and were in constant contact with the surrounding world. In the summer they spent much of their time in the *shains*, situated at heights. In the winter some of them went to the lower areas of Shimla, Solan, Mandi, etc. A large group of villagers went at least once in a year for *phere* for which one or two members went from each house and it took at least a month or more. There they observed and interacted with the people there. They were well aware to a great extent of all the kinds of developments taking place around them. Despite all these associations and aberrations they came out clean and remained all along in the history self-indulged and a contented society. Their ideal was to keep themselves unmixed and unpolluted.

As they were not using animal powers, much of their time and energy was utilized in carrying loads of grains gathered in the *deoghars* to the village through long, narrow and dangerous rocky paths. Heroes and ideal persons in the society were recognized from among those who had been the fastest and carried the heaviest loads.

Verma, a government official, posted at Kullu seems to have genuine concern for the poor plight of the people of Malana. He in his account of the village (c. 1980), gives a glimpse of its socio-economic conditions, when, he felt, Malana was slowly opening up to the outside world. A few others in the government also seem to be more active than usual and were making new initiatives in the sphere of development.

Verma reports that there is one primary school which was opened in 1944, was closed in 1946 and was then re-opened in 1958. So far none has crossed the Vth standard. Teachers are unwilling to serve here and the parents are reluctant to send their children to school because they want to use them in the day-to-day services at home. The most urgent task is the carriage of goods from Jari, and secondly to look after the herds of cattle. In any way they are aware of the importance of school education from their coming into contact with the people while they are on the move with their sheep and goats, a custom and profession they were following for centuries. There is none in government service from the village. The only person who joined a paramilitary organization had to leave the service as he could not get himself adjusted to the environment. The transport system is in no better condition. In the name of road there is only a footpath, this too is in bad shape and is not worthy for mules and cattle. The people have to carry the essential commodities from Jari on their back. There is no cottage industry. One family of weavers owns an old style *rachh* (pit loom). People produce good amount of wool and work on it in the winter.

One cooperative society was registered in March 1980 in the village. The society provided essential commodities like foodgrains, common salt, kerosene oil, sugar, coarse cloth etc.

to the villagers and undertook the marketing of medicinal herbs. The main difficulty experienced was in getting a suitable secretary for the proper functioning of the cooperative society, who had to be recruited from outside the village. Multi-purpose cooperative society will save the villagers from exploitations by the traders dealing in marketing of medicinal herbs. The traders at present purchase the herbs in the village but the villagers do not receive the proper price. At present the rate of carriage from Baladhi (near Jari) to Malana is 50 *paise* per kilo and the poor people engage even their small children for the carriage work as they are unable to pay the high charges of carriage. This in turn has resulted in poor attendance of children in the school.

He further says that there was one Ayurvedic Dispensary in the village, housed in a private building. People use traditional method for curing the ailments by local medicinal herbs. Prior to 1974-75, there was no government building in the village. The villagers were averse to such constructions as they were of the opinion that government interference in the village will destroy their established customs. The Deputy Commissioner of Kullu was able to get a piece of land after a great persuasion and got constructed a composite building.

Fire Hazards: During the last few years Malana came face to face with some unpleasant incidents. A big fire broke out in the month of January 2008, which, threatening the whole of the village, engulfed half of it, including the major historical monuments of the ancient society. It was the darkest day in the history of Malana, and was a big shock to the people of Malana and the world familiar with it. The devastating fire was of unprecedented magnitude. The incident occurred around 7.30 in the morning on January 5, 2008, which is reported to have started from a house situated in the lower portion of the village. The sacred structures dedicated to Jamlu and the deities associated with him, and the monuments symbolizing the grand history of Malana, were all situated in this part of the settlement. Most of these important buildings were reduced to ashes. The loss according to a widely circulated data amounted to about seventy

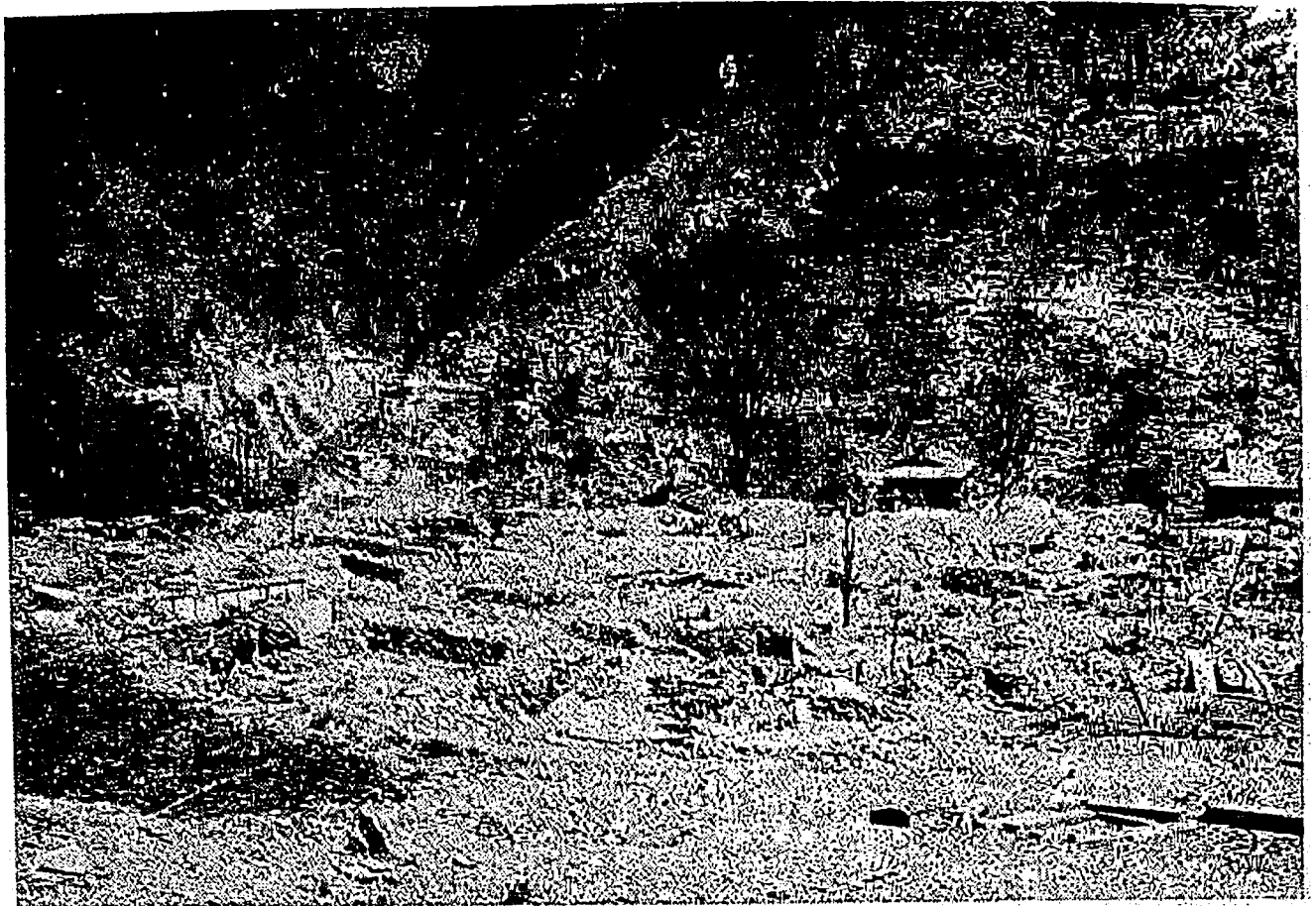


Fig. 28. Scene of devastation in Malana after the fire of 2008
(Courtesy: Roxi Studio).

crore rupees, and 670 members belonging to 148 families were rendered shelterless. Incidentally no loss of life was reported except some minor injuries to one or two children. The fire is said to have kept glowing for three months. As is the nature of the culture of Malana no signs of the monuments would have been available, but for the efforts of some adventurous individuals, who even at the cost of the wrath of the villagers, have been able to preserve the outward views of the important structures in photographic forms, but nothing remains of the interiors.

The next day it started snowing which continued for about twenty-four hours. The intermittent snowfall lasted for about a month. Although it helped in subduing the intensity of the fire, it aggravated the difficulties of the shocked residents as many of them lay shelterless in the open. It hindered the transportation of supplies of aid material.

The houses in Malana use abundant quantity of wood in construction which makes it easy to build and less expensive.



Fig. 29. People at work after the fire (Courtesy: Roxi Studio).

The verandahs, running all around the houses, are used as storehouses where large quantity of fuelwood and hay for fodder are stacked which are indeed essential during the long winter. The houses are also located at close distances. There was poor arrangement for the supply of water for extinguishing the fire. Due to poor development in infrastructural facilities the assistance like the fire brigade could not be expected.

Four houses situated in the middle of the two sections of the village were pulled down with the advice and assistance of the officials of the Fire Fighting Department which miraculously prevented the fire from extending to the other half of the village.

In July it was observed that there were even upto six families living in one house. The work of restoration was started on war footing. *Devta's* structures were taken up for reconstruction first. The *athara-karadu* temple was almost complete by July. The two *bhandars* were completed upto the first storey. The houses of most of the villagers too were complete upto a storey. The officials of the *devta* had not yet started constructing their residential houses and it was told that they would start the work after the

completion of the structures of the *devta* and that these would be constructed in the traditional manner with wood and stone.

By all means this big incident did not occur spontaneously and unexpectedly, and it is not an isolated occurrence in and around Malana.

The village of Barshaini, in the Manikaran valley is divided into three sections: Orli (this side), Porli (other side) and Ujjli (above). On May 14, 1993 a fire broke out in the village and out of about 100 houses, located in the lower part, 50-60 were burnt completely. The *bhandar* of *devta* Jagtham, the *devta* of the village, could not be saved. The *rath*, *pindi* (ball) and all the articles belonging to the god were lost in the fire. The *dehra* of the god was saved because it was located slightly away from the village. The incident recurred in the village in 2000. Again a large part of the village was burnt, including the newly-built *bhandar*. The *rath* and the articles of the god were saved.

On November 10, 2001 fire broke out in Tosh, a village in the neighbourhood of Barshaini. Whole of the village including the *bhandar* of the *devta* were burnt. Only the *dehra* and about 4-5 houses were saved. These two villages in the neighbourhood of Malana, come in the close cultural fold of Malana. In Barshaini there lives Jagtham, brother of Jamlu and in Tosh a Jamlu.

On November 12, 2004, about 23 houses were burnt in Chhalal, a village on way from Manikaran to Malana and closer to it than the above two villages.

In 2005 after 2 days of Diwali the village of Shilah was caught in the fire. About 80 houses and 150 cattle-heads were burnt. On June 7, 2007, a similar fire broke out in the village in which 60 houses, including the building of the primary school, a village common house, and some sheep and goats were lost in the fire. These have been taken as routine incidents.

On December 7, 2007 a big fire broke out in Mohini village, situated in the nearby Banjar valley, which engulfed 48 houses and 47 cowsheds and property worth crores of rupees was

destroyed. These villages are not located much far away from Malana. It may be observed that the big fires usually occurred during the autumn season or in hot summer before the monsoon when the weather is usually dry.

On September 15, 2004 fire destroyed 14 houses in Malana. Again on July 6, 2007 fire broke out in Malana when five houses were burnt and about eighteen families were rendered homeless. These earlier incidents of fire were not of as large scale as to make any lasting impact on Malana. But some kind of permanent preventive measure could have been taken individually or collectively by any concerned individual or an organization. The present incident physically eliminated half of the village, Saura Behad, the lower portion on the slope.

Some people were even thinking that if there were roads worth vehicular mobility linking the village, the impact of the hazard could have been reduced considerably. Immediately after this incident it was reported that the village elders, both the religious and the secular, counselled and decided to pursue with the government for the completion of the work on the road linking the village.

Malaise of Malana: Meanwhile the innocent and illiterate inhabitants of Malana have been infected by a malaise of an international character. The fields in the heights of Malana are fertile and suitable for cultivation of many exotic crops. Of course this is a common case as it is happening in other villages too. The reported cultivation of drug producing plants on a large scale started in the area in late eighties and within decades reached the pinnacle of the scale of production. It gradually reached an alarming level and alerted the government of the grave situation. In 2005, the government conducted an operation for cleansing the environment. A strong contingent of about 250 able persons was engaged which worked hard in the tough and unfamiliar terrain for about ten days. They also had to confront a tough resistance from the villagers. In October 2008 a youth was murdered as a result of rivalry within the village. The matter of grave concern is that this untoward development has tarnished

the unblemished image of Malana and its people which it enjoyed so far in the eyes of international community. The ancient culture which the people of Malana had been guarding so zealously since very early times has been desecrated. Jamlu is not happy and is in deep sorrow.

Malana in Changing Mode: Externally a new Malana is coming into being. The change in any shape was imminent and was bound to happen any time sooner or later. It is presently exposed to the outside world more openly. The big fire could have been one of the immediate causes. The villagers came into contact with many people and agencies including the various government departments at a moment when they were in dire need of assistance of all kinds, and the influx of the large number of men and material continued for long time. Such issues as the relationship with the outside societies, construction of road, modern method of construction of the houses, etc. compelled the villagers to reconsider their archaic views urgently and come face to face with the real situation. The government provided them financial help and assisted in many other ways which was required essentially. Other agencies and NGOs also provided

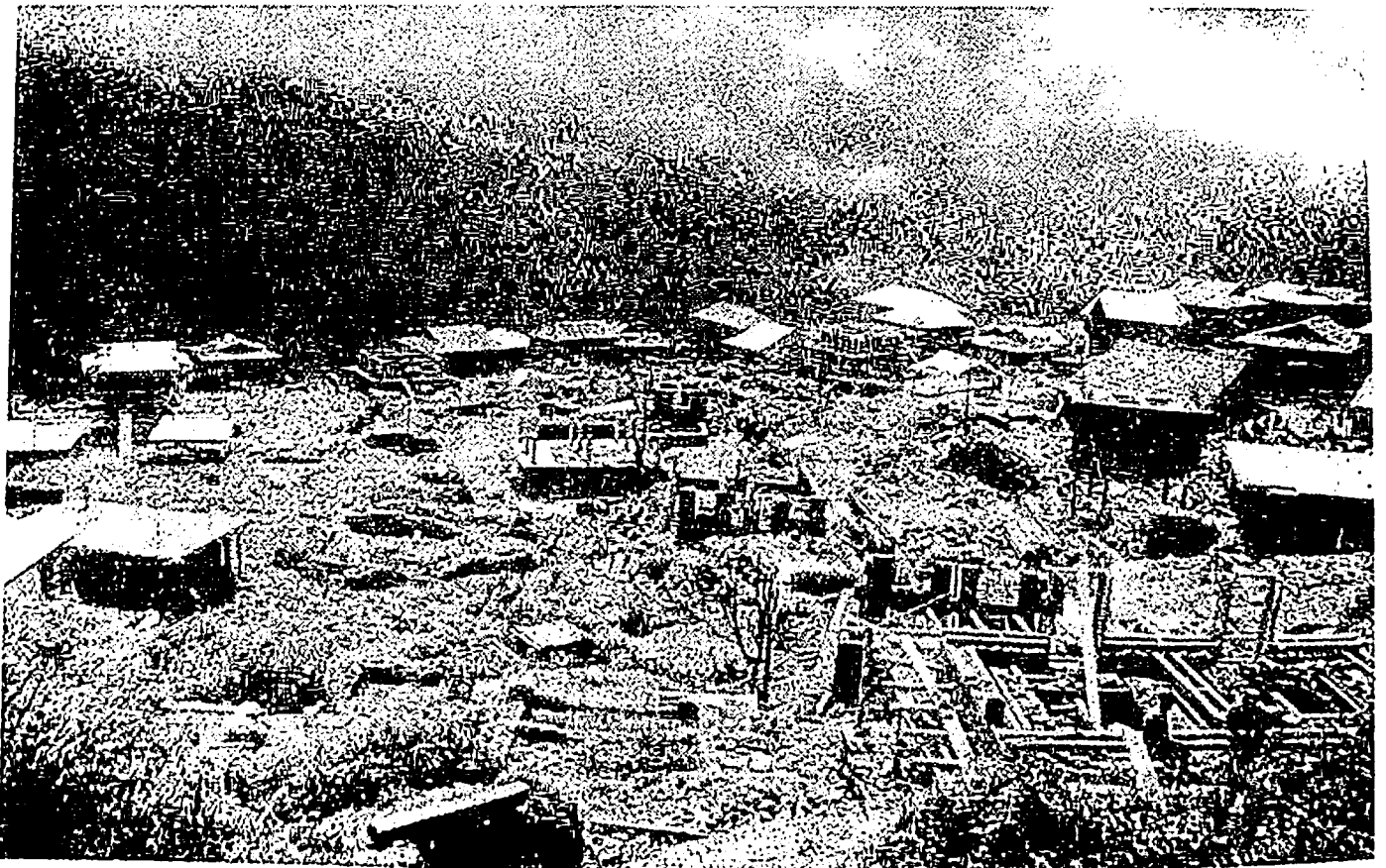


Fig. 30. Malana under construction.

help according to their capacity. The occasion also highlighted the necessity for the road and existence of the transport facility. A road worth vehicular traffic has reached almost at the level of the village, opposite to it, across the Malana Nala. It was learnt that initially there was some resistance against this development. Now they are rather eager that the construction of road should be completed early and it should reach upto the village. Moreover they are also demanding that bus services should be started between Malana and Jari. As is usual and also essential, it is learnt that a debate is also going on among the various sections of the village on certain points about the manner of approach of the road upto the village and they are also exerting pressure on the concerned authorities for the early completion of the work.

There are now several government institutions in the village like school, dispensary, post office etc. There is facility of electricity and mobile telephone service. The privately run mobile service is wonderfully popular among the villagers and people are taking full advantage of modern technology. Mobile set is an essential item in the pocket of most of the residents of Malana, including girls and women, irrespective of the status of literacy. Television sets occupy the corners of the rooms of many a house and keep the families engaged in the evenings interacting with the outside world. Importance and utility of the modern technology can be experienced more intensely in the tough environment of Malana.

The village is coming up with a new look. New constructions are going on at a fast pace. People have used non-conventional materials. They will have roofs either of metal sheet or concrete. However the traditional pattern will be maintained as far as the construction of the sacred structures is concerned. Besides, the officials of the *devta* and of the village administration will also follow the suit.

Some knowledgeable people suggest that Malana should not change, it should retain its old look and form. Perhaps it may not be justified to think of two different yardsticks of development

one for the developed and the other for the developing. They are also guided by the circumstantial compulsions and changing environment. Of course there is need to preserve their past achievements in certain forms as is being done elsewhere. In this respect assistance from all the concerned may be required. The ancient democratic institutions of governing are being slowly replaced by the modern institution of democratic system, the statutory body of Panchayati Raj.

The family composition is changing. Malana Power Project has come as a big neighbour, a catalyst and an eyesore. Malana will soon wear a new appearance externally. The village will be linked by motorable road which will affect in the increased flow of tourist traffic, import of essential commodities and construction material. Half of the village, including the major sacred buildings, will be ready after reconstruction and will give the village a modern look. This is likely to have a demonstration effect on the remaining neighbourly half. Malana has great potential for tourism. At present the most urgent need of the village is the facility for literacy in order to educate the young girls and boys who have missed the train to school. They feel the need of education but they cannot go to school. They are willing to join such an enterprise, and even adults are eager.

ANNEXURE I

The Legend of Jamlu by an Anonymous Author

(Translation from Hindi)

The Assembly of Shri Devta Jamlu at Hamta—by An Anonymous

Jamdagni was born in the family of Richak Rishi and mother Satvati. When Jamdagni was of twelve years of age, Jamlu went to Uttrakhand for meditation. After twelve years of hard meditation he went to Mahachin and there he made friendship with the ruler of Mahachin. The king gave him a place to live. After sometime the king died who was then succeeded by his son. At the same time a devil came to fight with the king of Chin. In order to avoid any confrontation with the devil the king offered to give whatever the devil demanded. The devil asked for a pregnant body of each of the species of, 1. woman, 2. cow, 3. cat, 4. bitch, 5. pig, 6. cock, 7. sheep, for his meal.

The king arranged all these without hassle. He had not intimated Jamlu of this fact but he soon came to know that the king had committed a great sin. Jamlu, therefore, cursed the king to become a bullock. He himself moved towards Mansarovar. The king was bellowing like bullock, and he knew that this was due to the curse imposed by Jamlu. He set out in search of Jamlu and ultimately reached Mansarovar. Jamlu became enraged at the glance of the sinner. The king fell at the feet of Jamlu and implored, "I have committed a great sin. Pardon me." He soon returned to become a human being. Jamlu went to Hansa, which is situated in the region of Spiti and stayed for some time there.

At this time Dodu Talani and Bhanu Chalani, two traders went from Hamta to Spiti on a trading trip. The traders met Jamlu at Hansa in Spiti in the garb of a *sadhu*. They came home accompanied by the *sadhu*. They gave Jamlu a space at Jhumri to stay. He meditated there for twelve years. He remained unmoved and the birds constructed their nests around him. The people offered him gifts. In this way the *sadhu* became rich and a huge amount of wealth was accumulated with him. There were seven villages at Hamta then: Hamta, Shilha, Seri, Shahni, Bodi, Shauri and Garu.

King Udardhan Pal, Girda Thakur, Mirda Thakur venerated the *sadhu* with great respect. There was a *chauntra* (platform) near 'gauna'. After some time Dodu and Bhanu again went to Spiti for the same purpose of trading. Soon after their leaving the village, the residents of the seven villages, observing that the *sadhu* had amassed a great amount of wealth assembled on the *chauntra* and decided that the villagers and the *thakurs* should seize his wealth and distribute among themselves. The method to be followed was, firstly to display a raw hide to the *sadhu* and then plunder the wealth. They acted in the same manner on the next day. After this the *sadhu* left Jhumri for elsewhere. The wives of the two traders received their shares but they kept on praying the *sadhu* everyday. After sometime the *sadhu* inflicted a skin disease on the inhabitants of the seven villages. They died all except the two women. Meanwhile the two traders returned from the trading trip. On seeing the deserted villages, they enquired from their wives who related the whole incident in detail. Then Dodu and Bhanu went in search of the *sadhu*. They found him at a place named Nagauni. They bowed before him with folded hands. The *sadhu* told them that he will place a *pindi* (a stone ball) at Nagauni and he will leave the place to go elsewhere.

The *sadhu* came from there to 'Sukhu-sauh' (a ground named Sukhu) and rested there for some days. *Athara karadu devtas* came to him. He gave them *prasad* of *yajna*. Leaving a *pindi* at Sukhu-sauh, he went to Delhi in the court of Shri Bhagwan,

who had his throne there. The *sadhu* attended the court of Bhagwan regularly. Bhagwan, admitting the *sadhu* as his follower, used to keep Jamlu close to himself. He also seated him on the throne for two and half moments. After the *sadhu* had got up from the throne, the servants would sprinkle water over the throne and then Bhagwan would occupy the seat. The wife of Bhagwan enquired from him, why it was done so. Bhagwan explained that Jamdagni *rishi* is neither married nor has he a teacher. Bhagwan then advised Jamdagni to get married and adopt a teacher also. The *sadhu* asked Bhagwan, whom should he adopt as *guru*. He advised that the next day whoever meets him first in the morning he should adopt him as his *guru*. Bhagwan appeared that day in the garb of a *musalman*. The *sadhu* said, 'you are my *guru*'. The man replied, 'I am *musalman*, How can I be your *guru*?' The *sadhu* answered that he was following the instructions of Bhagwan, and that 'I have no deference for the creed or caste system' and he adopted the *musalman* as his *guru*. When Jamdagni presented himself in the court of Bhagwan, he saw many *rishis* sitting there. They complained to Bhagwan that Jamdagni had adopted a *musalman* as his *guru*. 'He is now not worth attending this court'. Bhagwan ordered the *rishi* to go for meditation in 'Kajli-Bijli Van', 'you will be cleansed of the impurity of untouchability'. *Rishi* and the *guru* both went to the said jungle. The *guru* told his pupil that he was going to sleep for one year. 'Don't allow my fire to get extinguished'. After some days the fire went out. Jamdagni *rishi* was worried and thought, 'from where shall I get fire?' When the *guru* gets up, he will become angry. He climbed up a tree, looked around and saw smoke rising at some distance. The *rishi* took a *chimta* (spincer) in one hand and a *khepar* (*kapal*, a skull bowl of the *sadhus* for begging alms) in another and leapt towards the direction where smoke was seen rising. He saw there near the smoke *chaurasi-siddha* (eighty-four *siddhas*) performing *yajna*. He begged fire from them. One of the *siddhas* gave coals burning with fire to the *rishi*. The *rishi* held it on the lap of his *dhoti* and started moving back. The *chaurasi-siddha* pondered that 'this Brahman has a great power'. They questioned him.

The Brahman said 'I am Jamdagni Rishi'. The *chaurasi-siddhas* gave him invitation to join them in the *yajna* and also share meal.

Jamdagni *rishi* accepted the invitation subject to the condition that if they would give him food filling his *khepar* full. The *chaurasi-siddha* began pouring in the *khepar*, but the vessel was not showing any sign of being filled to full. When the food was finished and the *khepar* was still half filled, Jamdagni *Rishi* pointed out, 'I will not have your food'. The *chaurasi-siddha* were enraged. They thought, 'the *rishi* has spoiled our *yajna*'. Counselling among themselves they caught Jamdagni *Rishi* and killed him. They distributed the pieces of the flesh and bones of the *rishi* among themselves and consumed it. After some time Jamdagni's *guru* woke up from his long slumber. He found Jamdagni missing. Searching for him, he reached near the *siddhas*. He questioned if they had seen his pupil. They replied in negative. 'Nor we have any knowledge about him'. The *guru* told them to tell the truth and stressed, 'you certainly know about him'. The *guru* called loudly, 'Jamdagni!' Jamdagni replied from the stomachs of the *siddhas* like a chick of a pheasant. The *guru* then bid all the pieces of Jamdagni's flesh to get collected in the stomach of one *siddha*. From the stomach of one among the *chaurasi-siddha* whose stomach was bulged up came sound of a pheasant. Jamdagni asked the *guru* how to get out of the stomach. Jamdagni came out through the head of the *siddha*. Then Jamdagni bound all the *siddhas* with one rope and started beating them. The *chaurasi-siddhas* requested Jamdagni to pardon them. And they again performed a *yajna* and pleased Jamdagni.

Jamdagni *Rishi* then with the order of his *guru* attended the court of Bhagwan who enquired, 'have you completed your meditation?' Jamdagni replied in affirmative. Bhagwan then bid him to get married. On the order of the *guru* marriage was undertaken with the princess Renuka, daughter of king Prasenjeet. The couple then went to Sindhu-van. Constructing a hut they started meditating. They had five sons named: Navatop, Sad Sukhan, Basu, Vasudev and Parasram. Parasram went for

meditation. The other four remained with their parents. Once Renuka was taking bath, while king Marut came near her. His eyes fell on Renuka. She went inside her cottage. A thought arose suddenly in Jamdagni's mind. He ordered all the four of his sons, one by one, to cut the head of their mother. None dared. Jamdagni cursed them to turn to deer. At the same time Parasram appeared at the feet of his father, whom he saw in rage. Jamdagni ordered Parasram to cut the head of his mother. He obeyed the orders of his father who became pleased. Jamdagni told his son Parasram to ask for a reward. Parasram told, 'I want nothing. My only wish is that my mother and brothers should return to their life and that my mother should not know that I had cut her head'. Jamdagni sprinkled ambrosia over the head and neck of Renuka, and she came to life immediately. All the four brothers also turned from the body of deer to human beings.

Parasram went away on the advice of his father. Sarvahu (Sarvavahu), the king, who was going to marry the sister of Renuka, invited Jamdagni to his marriage party. Jamdagni *Rishi* did not go himself but he sent his wife with 'Dhabu-lota' (a pot) and golden jewellery. Renuka on return from the marriage told *Rishi* Jamdagni that Sarvahu was coming as guest to their cottage. The *rishi* had no preparations to honour the guest, while the Raja was about to reach. Jamdagni requested Bhagwan that one lakh *khinthri* (ragged quilt or blanket), a red cow, a *kabir bhandari* (Kabir, the storekeeper) and *kalpa vriksh* (wish-granting tree), should be sent to him. Bhagwan complied his wishes fully. Meanwhile Raja Sarvahu came with whole of his retinue. The king saw that there was neither kitchen, nor cooks and nor servants. Jamdagni *Rishi* placed plates and *lota* of gold and then served food to the full satisfaction of all his guests. After finishing the food Jamdagni announced that these golden plates and *lota* may be taken by the guests with them. King Sarvahu told his wife to go inside the cottage and look out what was there inside. Sarvahu's wife told that there was one *khinthri*, a *kapila dhenu*, a *kalpa vriksh* and a *kabir bhandari*. The king then advised his wife to demand the cow from Jamdagni. On this the *rishi* said that, 'these articles are not mine, Bhagwan has given me. How

can I give them'. Then Sarvahu's wife came back. The Raja was in preparation in advance to fight with the *rishi*. The *rishi* cut his own head and fought with his bust only. He was drenched with blood. He pronounced the name of his son Parasram. Immediately Parasram was standing before them holding an iron sword. Parasram found his father in bad condition who advised his son to fight with the Raja. Parasram killed the king Sarvahu, his son and his army. The ground turned bloody. Parasram finished the whole pedigree of the Raja. After sometime Parasram with the order of his father went to his own place. Jamdagni *Rishi* came from Madhuvan to Hamta. He told Dodu and Bhanu to prepare his *mohra* (metal face), as 'I will be vanished'. Dodu and Bhanu prepared his face and they too died. The sons of Dodu and Bhanu—Sukhu and Khukhu—went for hunting to Chanderkhani. They could kill only birds in the game. They had nothing to eat. They only ate the animals killed in the hunting. In the night the two saw a dream. The *devta* told them to sow the parched *saryara*. Sukhu woke up, sowed *saryara* and again went to sleep. The two were surprised to see in the morning that the crop of *saryara* had fully ripened. Both of them were surprised. They thought that *devta* Jamlu was very kind on them. 'He grew grains for us at this place'. Now *devta* Jamlu should be brought from Hamta. If Jamlu is not found his symbol should be brought stealing. The two went to Hamta and brought a *khanda* and a horse. And they brought their children also. When the two reached village Shuru, they met a young dumb man of *Damkhari* lineage. The dumb man had a *devta* seized upon him. He said in clear words 'don't take away my symbol. Take it back to Hamta. I will come with you. I will stay with you as I did with Dodu and Bhanu.' Both of them took the *nishan* (symbol) to Hamta and returned to Chanderkhani. Devta Jamlu appeared before them and told them to come to Malana. They should construct a temple for Renuka at Malana. They did as advised. They then constructed a temple for devta Jamlu also. 'Jetha Hamta, Konha Malana', and *devta* Jamlu also appeared in Malana. At Hamta there lived the offsprings of Dodu and Bhanu and at Malana those of Sukhu

and Khukhu. Jamlu went to twelve places from Malana (Anonymous, 2005: 12-17).

Note: Although no source is quoted in the above citation, it must be the same as Laldass Pankaj had hinted in one of his articles in the same journal about his finding, stating that it was written in Urdu in 1924 and that he would be placing it in print (Laldass Pankaj, Bhrigutung, 2004: 7).

ANNEXURE II

Phonetic Rendering of Some Important Local Terms

ajepa'd

kabeer, kameer, kanha'shee, kanaur, ka'hika', kudoong,
kada'ahi, kantha', sa'rang, kangnhoh, kota'ng, kothiya'da,
karadu, kaukadi-buke, kandya'li, karchhav, kor, kora

khund'eets, khobe, khoba'g, khod, khodu, kheend', kheend'u,
khepar, khind, khalaut, khala'nhi, khand'a'

ga'sha'ng, googli, gat'hiya'da', gra'hi, gepa'ng
chautda', chug, cha'kar, chandrakhanhi

tsokha'

chhaua', chhauoo, chhani, chheh-beeya, chhurnhi

jognha', jari, jaure, jathere, ja'nha'h, joginhee, jagtham jetha'ni-
dura'ni, ja'chhan

jhadida'r, jhha'lra'

tha'kras

d'a'ngoo da'noo, d'ehra, d'ehri, d'haunsi

tosh

t'hotsva'nhi, thimya'nhi, thudi, tha'ooee, thauda'

da'nu, deooghar, dra'mgo, da'yadaa'-ba'yada'

dhaudachh, dha'ra'ng, dha'ranhi, dha'mi, dha'ra'

naud, nagaunhi, nagwa'nhi, na'shing, narod, narodu, narol,
naroe, nisha'nh

pajauli, puchhanhi, pulag, paudram, poozi thek, pangan,
peej, pogaldar, panihar, patha, pitsug, paouchha, pooch,
puchhanhi, pinhi, parinhi

phagadi, phulits, phalauhari, pharada doo, phak, phoot'i-
roohnhi

bairigeez, barshainhi, ba'ri, beershu, ba'nhah, behad
bheling, bhatti, bhautad, bha'ga'-siddh, bha'r
mudiya', madha, madha'ang, mala'nha', maudha
ra'ee-sha'ee, roat', rashol, rushkaling, yots-behdu, la't'a'-ghoda'
sheelloo, sha'ngchar, shirad, sha'gtse, shainh, shauran, shegdi-
da'r, shauli

salvar, soyal, sarya'ra', sauh, sa'za', sa'za'vrat, sama'hanh,
sootak-pa'tak, saura', sauh, sukhu

hood, ha'rcha', hariya'-sang

Nagari and Roman Transliteration System Adopted

क	ख	ग	घ	ङ
ka	kha	ga	gha	nga
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ
cha	chha	ja	jha	nya
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण
t'a	th'a	d'a	dh'a	nha
त	थ	द	ध	न
ta	tha	da	dha	nha
प	फ	ब	भ	म
pa	pha	ba	bha	ma
य	र	ल	व	
ya	ra	la	va	

ष	श	स	ह		
sha	s'a	sa	ha		
ड़	ढ़				
da	dha				
अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ
a	a'	i	ee	u	oo
ऐ	ए	ओ	औ	अं	
e	ai	o	au	ng	

Bibliography

- Bailey, T. Grahme. 1908. *The Languages of the Northern Himalayas being Studies in the Grammar of Twenty Six Himalayan Dialects*, Royal Asiatic Society, London.
- Bailey, T. Grahme. 1915. *Linguistic Studies from Himalayas*, reprinted 1975, Asian Publication Services, New Delhi.
- Bruce, C.G. 1914. *Kulu and Lahoul*, Edward Arnold, London.
- Chetwode, Penelope. 1972. *Kulu, The End of the Habitable World*, John Murray, London.
- Cowell, E.B. 1895. *The Jatak or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, reprinted Low Price Publications, Part II, second reprint, 1993.
- Diack, A.H. 1896. *The Kulu Dialect of Hindi and a Glossary*, The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore.
- Egerton, P.H. 1864. *Journal of a Tour Through Spiti to the Frontier of Chinese Thibet*, Cundall, Downes, London.
- Forbes, M.C. 1911. *To Kulu and Back*, Thacker Spink & Co., Simla.
- Gazetteer of the Kangra District, 1897, Parts II to IV, *Kulu, Lahul and Spiti*, Government of Panjab, Lahore, 1899, reprinted Indus, 1994, New Delhi.
- Gore, F.ST.J. 1895. *The Lights and Shades of Hill Life: Kullu, Kuram*, London, reprinted 1994, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi.
- Harcourt, A. Captain. 1870. *Rambles in Kooloo*, Pioneer Press, Allahabad.
- Harcourt, A.F.P. 1871. *The Himalayan Districts of Kooloo, Lahoul & Spiti*, William H. Allen & Co., London, reprinted Vivek Publishing House, Delhi, 1972.
- Howell, G.C.L. 1908. Kanashi, in *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Tibeto-Burman Family, Part I, compiled and edited by G.A. Grierson, reprinted 1967, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, pp. 447-452.
- Howell, G.C.L. 1918. *Journal of Punjab Historical Society*, Volume VI, No. 2, pp. 69-81.
- HP District Gazetteers, *Kullu*, Chief Editor Trilok Chand Janarta, Government of H.P., Shimla, 2000.

- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J.Ph. 1933. *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Lahore. Reprinted Depatement of Languages and Culture, H.P. Shimla, 1982.
- Kumar, Krishan. 2007. *Direct Democracy and Village Governance*, Regal Publications, New Delhi.
- Lyall, J.B. 1875. *Final Report on the Revised Settlement of Kangra District*. Punjab District Gazetteers, Volume XXX A, Kangra District, Parts II-IV, Kulu and Saraj, Lahul and Spiti, of 1917, Government of Punjab, Lahore, 1918.
- Raha, M.K. and Mahato, S.N. 1985. *The Kinnaurese of the Himalayas*, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta.
- Rose, H.A. 1883. *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. III, Lahore, reprinted Language Department, Punjab, Patiala, 2000.
- Rosser, Colin. 1960. Malana: A Hermit Village in Kulu, in *India's Villages*, ed. by M.N. Srinivas, Asia Publishing House, London, 2nd edition, 1960.
- Shastri, Hiranand. 1911. Historical Documents of Kulu, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1907-1908, reprinted Swati Publications, 1990, Delhi,
- Singh, D.V. and A.K. Gulati. 1996. Socio-economic conditions of a tribal forest village: A study in Himachal Pradesh, in Samal, K. Prasanna (Ed.). 1996, *Tribal Development Options*, Gyanodaya Prakashan, Nainital, pp. 11-27.
- Temple, R.C. 1884. *The Legends of the Punjab*, Vol. III, reprinted 2000, Language Department, Punjab, Patiala.
- Tobdan. 1984. *History and Religions of Lahul*, Books Today, New Delhi.
- Tobdan. 2000. *Kullu: A Study in History from the earliest to c. A.D. 1900*, Book India, Delhi.
- Tobdan. 2008. *Cultural History of Western Trans-Himalaya, Bashahar Kinnaur*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi.
- Whistler, Hugh. 1924. *In the High Himalayas: Sport and Travel in the Rhotang and Baralacha, with Some Notes on the Natural History of That Area*, London, H.F. & G. Witherby.

Journals

- Howell, G.C.L., I.C.S. 1918. Some Notes on Ancient Kulu Politics, in *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 69-81, Lahore.
- Murphy, Dervla. 1969. The Valley of Refuge, in *The Himalayan Journal*, vol. xxvii, 1967-68, pp. 12-20.

- Pritchard, Colin. 1969. The Mountains of Malana, in *The Himalayan Journal*, Vol. xxvii, 1967-68, pp. 8-11.
- Roerich, George De. 1934. The Tibetan Dialect of Lahul, Tibetica 1, in *Journal of Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute*, Vol. III, of the Roerich Museum, Naggar (Kulu) and New York.
- Rosser, Colin. 1952. An Aspect of the Political Organisation of Malana, in *The Eastern Anthropologist*, Vols. 6-7 (not consulted).
- Tobdan and Chattopadhyaya, A.K. 1982. Yaksha-Yakshee, in *Without Reserve*, January-March, 1982, p. 17, house journal of Reserve Bank of India, Bombay.
- Verma, J.R. 1980. *Impact of Development on Malana*, in Souvenir, Kullu Dussehra, 1980 (19 to 25 October), pp. 30-34.
- Young, G.M. 1982. *Malana and the Akbar-Jamlu Legend*, in the Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, reprinted Selections from Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, ed. by Zulfiqar Ahmad, Sange-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 1982, 168-181.

Hindi

- Asvaghosh: *Buddhacharita*, Vol. I, translated into Hindi by Mahant Sri Ramchandradas Shastri, 1998. Chaukhamba Vidya Bhavan, Varanasi.
- Bhatnagar, Mahashya Satya Pal. 1996. *Kullu ka Itihas aur Sanskriti*, Anupam Prakashan, Kullu (H.P.), 2nd ed. 1997.
- Handa, Om Chand. 1988. *Paschimi Himalaya ki Lok Kalayen*, Indus, New Delhi.
- Prarthi, Lal Chand. n.d. (1971?). *Kuloot Desh ki Kahani*, Neel Kamal Prakashan, Kullu.
- Sankrityayan, Rahul. 1956. *Madhya Asia ka Itihas, khand 1*, Bihar Rashtra Bhasha Parishad, Patna.
- Sharma, Narender Kumar. 1988. *Malana Janpad*, Bhavna Prakashan, Delhi.
- Thakur, Kalpana. 2005. Jamdagni Rishi Hawai—Shyah, in *Kullu ki Rishi Parampara*, ed. by Surat Thakur, Bhartiya Itihas Sankalan Samiti, Kullu, pp. 37-39.
- Thakur, Mohar Singh. 2005. Gaon Sees me devta Jamlu, in *Kullu ki Rishi Prampara*, ed. by Surat Thakur, Bhartiya Itihas Sankalan Samiti, Kullu, pp. 24-31.
- Thakur, Molu Ram. 1981. *Himachal me Poojit Devi-devta*, Rishabh Charan Jain, New Delhi.
- Thakur, Molu Ram. 2003. Kullu dashahra me devtaon ki bhumika, in *Kullu: Dev samagam*, ed. Sudarshan Vashishth, Himachal Kala Sanskriti, Bhasha Akadami, Shimla, pp. 8-18.

Thakur, Vidya Chand. 2005. Maharaja ke devta Jamlu, in *Kullu ki Rishi Parampara*, ed. by Surat Thakur, Bhartiya Itihas Sankalan Samiti, Kullu. 32-36.

Journals

- Anonymous. 2005. Shri Devta Jamlu ki Sabhavali Hamta, in *Bhrigu Tung*, Kullu, year 5, No. 12, pp. 12-17.
- Aranya, Bhagat Ram. Kullu me Atharah Karadu ki Parampara, in *Bhrigu Tung*, Kullu, year 1, No. 2, pp. 16-19.
- Pankaj, Laldass. 2005. Malana ke devta Jamlu ke prati mera Mantabya, in *Brighu Tung*, year 4, No. 8, pp. 6-10.
- Thakur, Surat. 2002. Malana ra Kapu Saza, in *Him Bharti*, July-December, 2002, Himachal Art, Culture and Language Academy, Shimla, pp. 24-26.
- Thakur, Surat. 2002. *Harka* (a novel in Hindi based on the culture of Malana concerning the period eighth and ninth decade of twentieth century), Sahitya evam Kala Parishad, Kullu.
- Thakur, Surat. ed. 2005. Jamdagni Rishi Malana, in *Kullu ki Rishi Parampara*, Bhartiya Itihas Sankalan Samiti, Kullu, pp. 19-23.
- Thakur, Tej Ram. 1983. Maharshi Jamdagni ke Ashram numa Malana Gaon me Adivasi Janjivan, in *Somsi*, January 1983, pp. 72-77.
- Thakur, Vidya Chand. Jamlu ka Malana Rjya, *Vipasha*, Shimla, pp. 81-84.
- Tobdan. 1979. Lara: Lahaul ke devtaon ki katha, in *Somsi*, year 5, no. 3, July 1979, Himachal Pradesh Kala, Sanskriti, Bhasha Akademi, Shimla, pp. 52-61.

Index

- Abul Fazl 178, 183
 Ajaypal/Ajepad 148
 Ajimal 94, 151
 Akbar 12, 50, 51, 53, 54, 96, 97,
 105, 176, 181, 183
 Alexander 44
 Allahabad 150
 Angi Duga 26
 Aryan 42
 Athara Bees 32
 Athara Nag 193, 194, 199
 Athara Thakur 136
 Austric 42, 142
 Austroloid 42
 Autor 118
 Ayodhya 150

 Bachhnag 77
 Bada deu 144
 Badagran 117, 145, 162, 177, 180
 Badahi 47
 Badshah 176, 177, 181, 183
 Baggi Kshadi 145
 Bahanh 145, 146
 Baijnath 160
 Bairigeez 68, 72, 92
 Bajaura/Bajour 178, 183
 Baladi 85, 114
 Balh 46
 Bali Chowki 61, 65
 Balu 92
 Banasur 82, 139, 143

 Banjar 61
 Banogi 172
 Banshira 26
 Banu 148
 Baralacha 24, 27
 Bari 38, 53, 67, 80, 81, 115, 116,
 169, 172
 Barshaini 26, 143-145, 191
 Barta 67
 Beas 22, 24, 145, 151, 199
 Begar 83, 133
 Bhaba 25
 Bhaga 42
 Bhaga Siddh 94, 104, 143, 144,
 156
 Bhagwan 214, 217
 Bhanara 114
 Bhandal 199
 Bhanu 130-132, 214, 218
 Bhar 113, 149, 169
 Bharcha 82
 Bhat 201
 Bhatangroo 83
 Bhautad 100
 Bhelag 19
 Bheling 19, 32
 Bhot 25, 82
 Bhotant 25, 136, 186
 Bhotanti 82, 162
 Bhoti 32, 140, 185
 Bhotli 82
 Bhuntar 137

- Bihangmani Pal 169
 Bijli Mahadev 11
 Bilaspur 109
 Bir 145
 Birshu 80, 94, 105, 115, 145
 Burua 46, 116, 169, 172
 Bushahar 24, 32, 35

 Canda 41, 42
 Chaakri 65, 74, 99, 104, 118
 Chachogi 64, 118
 Chamang 40
 Chamwari 83
 Chanal 173
 Chandertal 42
 Chandra 24, 27, 42
 Chandrabhaga 33, 41, 42
 Changez Khan 182
 Changna 26
 Chansari 135
 Char 193, 195, 201
 Chauki 19, 85
 Chauntra 56, 69, 75, 214
 Chaurasi-siddha 215, 216
 Cheen 136
 Chhaki 194, 200
 Chhalal 18, 21, 85, 143, 145
 Chhang 198
 Chhani 70, 72, 99, 104, 146, 163, 169, 170
 Chhatru 27
 Chhe-Beeha 32, 44
 Chhidra 77
 Chhika 27, 133, 137
 Chhoa/Chhou 88
 Chhota Dara 27, 189
 Chhurnhi 60
 Chin 25, 186, 213
 Chowki 61, 150
 Chug 46, 72, 74, 80, 81

 Dalai Lama 190
 Da-lha 185, 187, 190

 Damkhari 132, 218
 Dangu 33, 34
 Danu 33, 34, 139, 143, 146 148
 Dapaut 141, 150, 162
 Das-shau 32
 Dayar 83, 116, 117
 Dayara-bayara 145
 Dehra 155, 173, 200
 Dehri 51, 54, 56, 57, 65, 95, 105, 144, 170
 Deo Tibba 15, 137, 142
 Dhabu Lota 217
 Dhadhachh 71, 141, 170
 Dhalpur 149, 150, 152, 155
 Dhami 83
 Dhandhal 173
 Dhara 48, 56, 68
 Dharang 48
 Dharani 36, 68, 72
 Dharma-chara 145
 Dharam-chua 26
 Dhilli 104
 Dhungri 194, 195, 199
 Dobhi 135, 150, 151
 Dodu 130, 131, 132, 214, 218
 Doghar 19, 159
 Doghri 107
 Domang 40
 Dragdi 201
 Drango 149
 Duffata 149
 Duggi Lag 144
 Dugher 148
 Durani 69, 134
 Durani-jethani 134
 Dussehra 82, 149, 150

 Finn 39, 122
 Flauvarits 50, 51, 65
 Fojjal 136, 169

 Gacha 88
 Gaddi 23, 148

- Gadi Lumpa 196
 Gandhola 42
 Gashang 88, 90
 Gassa 90
 Gathiya'nha 81
 Ghunghri 162
 Girda Thakur 214
 Girmal 137
 Girva Kothi 148
 Gondhla 194
 Googli 89, 90
 Grahan 35, 46
 Grahi 116, 173
 Gramphug 194, 195, 198, 202
 Gudri 162
 Gushal/Goshal 33, 194, 199

 Hallan 47, 118
 Hanol 144
 Hansa 130, 133, 136, 185, 187, 189, 190, 213, 214
 Ha'r 159
 Harcha 38, 56, 57, 197
 Haripur 149, 173
 Hariya-sang 92
 Ha'rya'n 152, 160
 Hidimba 143, 144, 194, 199
 Himavant 42
 Hirma 144
 Hurang 136

 Indo-Tibetan 42
 Indra 140
 Indrakeel 137

 Jagat khana 24
 Jagat Singh 150, 152, 169, 183
 Jagtham 143-145, 147, 148, 208
 Jahalma 193
 Jambhala 140, 141
 Jamlung 140, 141
 Jana 19, 32, 45, 63, 85, 94, 117, 118, 151, 158
 Jangru 145
 Jangthang 24, 187
 Janhag 56, 57, 73-75
 Jari 15, 19, 98, 144, 204
 Jataka 41
 Jathere 57, 67, 72, 74, 80
 Jathira 72
 Jau-lai 98
 Jaure 26, 95, 98, 104
 Jeev Narayan 32, 151
 Jesta 67, 69, 72
 Jestang 67, 73, 74, 77
 Jhalra 60
 Jhumri 130, 214
 Jogini 34, 139, 148, 174
 Julaha 34, 45
 Jwagi 47

 Kaath-kuni 58
 Kabir 143, 146, 217
 Kahika 101, 102, 144
 Kailash 25, 41, 43, 141, 154
 Kais 36, 95, 117, 151
 Kajli-Bijli Van 215
 Kalchor 198
 Kaleja 182
 Kalpa vriksh 217
 Kamir 143, 146, 170, 172
 Kandyali 75
 Kanet 38, 45, 56, 68, 86
 Kapal 215
 Karjan 114
 Karnu-Harnu 30
 Kartikeya 200
 Kasol 13, 18, 26
 Kathiala 152
 Katrain 170
 Kayath 83
 Kedarnath 202
 Khakhnal 194, 195, 200, 202
 Khalanhi 181
 Khalaut 113
 Khanda 71, 131, 141, 162, 170, 173, 177, 218

- Kharahal 150
 Kharal 36, 116
 Khash 38
 Kheend 29, 117, 120, 169, 200, 201
 Kheendu 29
 Kheerang 26
 Kheerganga 26
 Khepar 215, 216
 Khindu Bhagat 172
 Khinthri 217
 Khobe 89-91
 Khod 101, 158
 Khodu 158, 172
 Khoksar 27, 192, 198
 Khukhu 131, 132, 218, 219
 Khundits/Khundu 92
 Khunthi 90
 Khwagling 192
 Khyung 195
 Kirata 41-43
 Kokri-bukey 181
 Kor 56, 113
 Kora 67, 73, 74, 75, 81, 113
 Kotadhar 151
 Kotang 54, 57
 Kothi 15, 28, 57, 59, 81
 Kothiyala 81, 83
 Kuber 140, 141, 143, 146, 170
 Kunzom 27
 Kuth Behali 198
 Kwaring 196
 Kyelang 194
 Kyomo 185
 Kyoto 185

 Labdag 188
 Lama Guru 25, 26
 Lapas 26
 Lara 192
 La-u-da Lo-te-ra 26
 Lha Chhos 191
 Lhakhang 187, 192

 Lha tho 188
 Lohar 34, 35, 36, 45, 100, 122
 Losar 185

 Magyar 39, 122
 Mahamaya 144, 158
 Majhach 46, 47, 116, 169, 173
 Manali 15, 194.
 Marhang 29, 56-59, 61, 63, 65, 201
 Maurh 59
 Mirda Thakur 214
 Mithun 64
 Mohra 49, 131, 155, 173
 Mon 42
 Muafi 113, 114
 Mudiya 68-70
 Mughal 176, 183
 Mundie 69

 Nagani 46
 Nagauni 36, 131, 214
 Nagwani 36, 47, 68, 69, 88
 Naphere 141, 162
 Narayan 154, 200
 Narod 144, 170, 174
 Narodu 54, 57, 84, 105, 143, 144
 Naroï 50, 144, 155
 Narol 104, 144-146
 Nashing 67, 74
 Nath 153, 184
 Naud 102, 143
 Naudan 102, 103
 Naunhi 139
 Nerang 33, 108, 148
 Ngyungti Khar 25
 Nirmand 102

 Oomrye Ru-a'rh 187
 Oudh 150

 Padamsambhav 141
 Palchan 116, 172, 199, 202

- Palsara 82, 83
 Panarsa 35
 Panchayati 15, 212
 Pandra-bees 32
 Pangan 144, 145, 186
 Pangu Padul 25, 136, 186
 Panihar 81
 Panjauli 83
 Papi-chua 26
 Paras Ram 134, 216, 218
 Parol 15, 160
 Parvati 15, 19, 26, 200
 Patha 113, 116, 117
 Pathru 158
 Peej 70, 139, 186, 139, 150, 174
 Phah 193, 198
 Phati 15, 24, 117
 Phera/Phere 81, 113, 116, 169, 172
 Phooti Rooni 24, 25, 27, 189
 Phual 133, 149
 Phulits 92
 Pidhe 51, 54, 97
 Pin 25
 Pind 149
 Pindi 131, 214, 208
 Pini 94, 104, 144, 147, 151, 202
 Pir 97, 140
 Pitti Thakur 25, 186
 Pogaldar 75, 77, 80
 Poochh 69, 113
 Poola 90, 91
 Poozi 70
 Prashar 172
 Prini 25, 138, 185,
 Proto-Austroloids 42
 Puchhani 36, 68, 69, 72
 Pugri 68, 90

 Ra deo 36, 38, 68, 69, 117, 160
 Rachh 204
 Raghunathji 149, 150, 158
 Rahla 24, 199
 Rai-shai 70, 71
 Raison 35, 172
 Rampur 24, 121
 Rao 38
 Rayati 152
 Renuka 104, 105, 140, 144, 170, 173
 Richak Rishi 213
 Riggin 67, 68
 Riyara 169
 Roat 99, 104, 202
 Rohtang 18, 24, 57, 194, 195, 199, 202
 Roshkoling 18, 26
 Rudarnag 143
 Rumsu 16, 64, 114, 117, 118, 169, 173, 200
 Rupini 162

 Sadhu 131, 133, 214, 215
 Sahasravahu 217
 Samahan 56, 149
 Sar 36
 Sarai 59
 Saraj 36, 47
 Sarang 48
 Sarvahu/Sarvavahu 139, 217, 218
 Sarwal 36
 Saryara 100, 131, 138, 139, 218
 Sat-solahi 133, 134, 137
 Satvati 213
 Saur 151
 Saura 36, 38, 46, 48, 56, 68, 198
 Sazavrata kothi 12, 29, 56, 57, 59, 81
 School 204, 212
 Sees 150, 174
 Seok 83
 Sethang 137
 Shachani 35
 Shag-tse 187-190
 Shah Madar 183, 184
 Shain 107, 161
 Sharbal Nag 151

- Shashin 23, 192, 198
 Shauran 105, 114, 161, 163, 164, 192
 Shigri 24
 Shilah 208
 Shilihar 144
 Shillu 68, 72
 Shirad 102, 144
 Shoshan 24
 Shringa Rishi 94
 Shu 42
 Shukli Nag 151
 Shyah 150, 161, 173
 Sidh Singh 25
 Sikander 44
 Sissu 192, 194, 195, 202
 Smahan 56, 149
 Sotingri 196
 Soyal 64, 70
 Sra-srin 192
 Srog 195
 Stodpa 57
 Sukhu 99, 131, 132, 162, 214, 218
 Sultanpur 11, 85, 150, 152, 153
 Sumeru 190
 Sunni Bhotli 82, 84
 Sutak-patak 71

 Taka 176
 Takshak Nag 169
 Tandi 192
 Tangjar 194
 Tapri 36
 Tatta Pani 109
 Thaa-oo-ee (Thawi) 64
 Thakras 158
 Thamiani 36, 68, 69, 72, 74, 88
 Than 145, 146, 149, 158
 Thathiyar 35
 Thauda 71, 141, 169, 200, 201
 Thawi 64, 65
 Thepaur 108
 Thipu 89
 Thokan 47

 Tholong 33, 36
 Thoshku 107
 Thotswan'hi 68
 Thudi 46, 47
 Thu-kug khar 189
 Tibeto-Burman 24, 42, 122
 Tibeto-Chinese 42
 Tibeto-Himalayan 122
 Timar Chhachi 202
 Tipri 135
 Toknar 92
 Tondla 151
 Tosh 21, 26, 64, 70, 143, 145, 171, 202
 Trambli 135
 Trijuginarayan 143, 147
 Tulga 145
 Tunda rakshas 98
 Tundach 141
 Turk 39

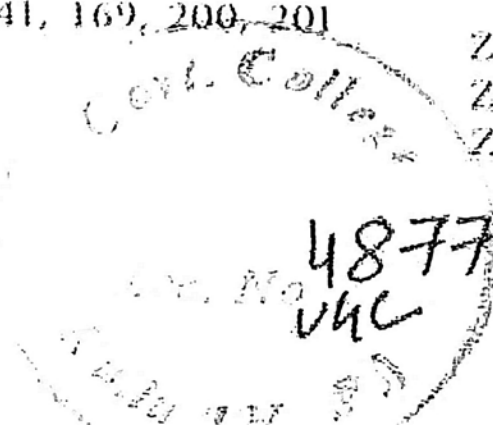
 Uchhab 103, 119
 Udardhan Pal 214
 Udsoo 150
 Uttrakhand 213

 Vashishth 143, 149
 Veer 145
 Villages of Jamlu 175

 Waziri 15

 Yaksh 140, 142
 Yan-darag 198
 Yangling 202
 Yassa 182
 Yots Behad'u 68
 Yul-lha 189, 190

 Zagdu 47
 Zang-dulma 196
 Zhiling khar 189



Tobdan (b.1944) belongs to Lahul district of Himachal Pradesh. He is an independent research scholar and has the following publications to his credit.

1. *History and Religions of Lahul*, 2. *The People of the Upper Valley (The sTodpas of Lahul in the Himalayas)*, 3. *Historical Documents from Trans-Himalaya: Lahul, Zaskar and Ladakh* (co-authored with C. Dorje), 4. *Kullu: A Historical Study*, 5. *Moravians in the Trans Western Himalayas* (co-authored with C. Dorje), 6. *Bashahar-Kinnaur: A Study on Cultural History of Western Trans-Himalayas*, & 7. *Bhoti Parichaya: Vayakaran aur Anuvad* (in Hindi and Bhoti). He has contributed several articles in the reputed professional journals on history, language, culture, etc.

He is member of the governing body of Himachal Pradesh Academy for Language, Culture and Arts.